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**This may be Printed,**

*March 27.*  
*1688.*

*Ro. L'Estrange.*

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REFLEXIONS  
ON  
*Dr. Gilbert Burnet's*  
TRAVELS  
INTO  
SWITZERLAND, ITALY,  
And certain parts of  
GERMANY and FRANCE, &c.  
Divided into Five  
LETTERS.

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Written originally in Latin by  
MONSIEUR \* \* \*

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And now done into English.

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London Printed, for *Awnsham Churchill* at the  
*Black Swan* in *Ave-Mary-Lane*, 1688.

REFLECTIONS

ON

TRAVELS

IN

SWITZERLAND

AND

GERMANY

Divided into Five

LETTERS

Written originally in Latin  
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London Printed for Messrs. Cressel at the  
Black Swan in St. Dunstons Lane 1683.

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TO THE  
READER.

**I**T is the Design and Study of many men of no mean note, in perusing the Works of others which are received with a general applause and commendation, by a disingenuous policy, working their wits and leaving no stone unturn'd, to discover some failures in them;  
a fondly

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fondly imagining that by publishing them to the learned world they gain no less to their own reputation than they detract from the glory of others, and as much as they suppose the piercing subtilty of their own judgment exceeds that of other men. And though it cannot be deny'd that some by this means have in some measure obtain'd their end, by reason of the manners and disposition of men oft too prone to lend an ear to him who under a false shew cunningly undermines the credit of some famous man; yet most instead of a desired applause have acquired nothing but hatred and infamy, and their own weakness

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ness become much more manifest, than their indeavours were to discover that of others. *Asinius Pollio* the Roman, highly in favour in the Court of *Augustus*, upbraided the most elegant Roman Historian *Livius Patavinus* with being born at *Padua*, but with such obscurity, that learned men, even to these times are at a loss to understand what he meant by it; and so very unhappily, that he hath bestowed upon him by a judicious Person not long since this deserved *Elogium*, viz. *Dum ab Asinio Pollione Patavinitas Livio tam indignè objicitur, non immeritò utrùm in Livio plus patavinitatis quàm in Asinio asinitatis insit, dubites. Plutarch,*

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that most accomplish'd Person, was censur'd not long since, as having a good judgment indeed, but not subtile enough, being unable to distinguish the various dispositions of men contradicting oftentimes and thwarting one another, inso-much that had he been to write the Life of *Catiline*, he would have represented him either covetous or prodigal, being far short of the sharp wit of *Salust*, who most judiciously terms him desirous of what was another man's, profuse of what was his own. But that I may conceal what with the greatest elegance is argued to the contrary by a most ingenious person, and proved by the  
the



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the character which *Plutarch* gave of *Sylla*, scarce ever consistent with himself ; This very *Plutarch* accuses *Salust* (as if he had foreseen that time would produce a man, who should esteem him far inferiour to *Salust* in ingenuity ) of great stupidity, for his words are these in the Life of *Lucullus* ; I strangely admire how *Salust* could be guilty of so much imprudence and ignorance as to say, that the Romans first saw Camels in the Battel betwixt *Lucullus* and *Mithridates*, as if he could believe that the Army under *Scipio* against *Antiochus*, or that under the command of *Archelaus* against the *Orchomænians* near *Cheronæa*, were ignorant what

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sort of creature a Camel was. What Plagiaries are *Theocritus* and *Virgil* made by those who with great vanity accuse them of appropriating to themselves many of *Homer's* Verses? Nor can the greatest Writers of our age escape the censure of such conceited men; for is not *Thuanus* accused to have written as a strange sort of a Politician, *Paulus Sarpinus* of ignorance, and *Palavicinus* of vanity? So that whithersoever any man's affections or profit hurry him, if the Pen of a Writer tend not that way, in vain he may expect the applause of a good, learned, prudent or eloquent person. As for my part, I have always been a-verse



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verse to that vain and insipid pretence to wisdom, by finding fault with another in hopes of advancing my own reputation, neither ever read I any Author with a design to expose his failures or ignorance, but in order to correct my own; and if by chance in any Author treating of variety of excellent Subjects, I find some slips, I esteem of them as errors onely, and own my self indebted to his instruction for my knowledge of them. Yet in *Benj. Priolus's* History onely, from the death of *Lewis XIII.* King of *France*, to the death of Cardinal *Mazarini*, in twelve Books in *Latin*, so much applauded by the generality of

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learned men, I thought I observed many things that would scarce admit of an excuse. For, besides the vast number of Sentences out of *Tacitus*, *Seneca*, and other ancient Writers, which without any mention of the Authours he hath mingled with his own words, or to speak more truly, with which he hath mingled his own words; I say, besides that innumerable company of Sentences, he hath transcribed whole paragraphs from *Lipsius*, and entire pages out of *Barclay's Argenis*, whereby he seems to me to have plaid the notorious Plagiary with so much the less judgment, by how much the style of both the aforesaid Authours

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thours is justly reprehended by the best Wits : *Lipsius's* style is Latin indeed, but crude and harsh ; *Barclay's* pleasant and florid, but not Latin. I shall endeavour to prove what I have said by this one example, viz. *Priolus*, in the Book of his History, speaking of the affairs and commotions in *England*, violently tending to the destruction and ruine of that most happy Kingdom, endeavours to give us a Character of *Charles* the First, the best of Kings; and of *Cromwell* likewise, the worst of Subjects. King *Charles* the First, he describes in these words; *Charles, a person of a most mild disposition, not prone to revenge by a due severi-*

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severity, possessed the Kingdom by descent from his Ancestours; who abhorring the height of business, as one who was too much in love with ease, committed both himself and his affairs to unfaithfull counsels. Hence arose the cause of all those evils to the best of Kings, through the envy especially, not so much of Fairfax as, of Cromwell, who watch'd his opportunity to take advantage of the King's oversights. Whilst Charles's mind was thus exempt from cares, he wrought so effectually that no part of the Kingdom was free from infection. And now fury and ambition took up arms against the King, and laid hands on him prostrate; who began though late

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to be mindfull of his cause and reputation : but now, though in greatness of resolution inferiour to no Prince, he had lost the disposal of himself ; and he, whom nothing but his own goodness could make a captive, was compelled, by the villany of others, to manifest to the world his vertues. On the contrary, of Cromwell he says thus ; Cromwell a man of great courage and counsell, most subtile in pleasing, came short of none in credulity and pride, as oft as he might with Safety : at length he proceeded so far, &c. Now Barclay, in his *Argenis*, describes *Meleander* in the very same words that *Priolus* does *Charles*, and likewise *Lycogenes* with the same

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same that he does *Cromwell*. Of *Meleander* he says thus: *Meleander, a man of most mild disposition, possesseth the Kingdom of Sicily, by descent from Father and Grandfathers--- who I am apt to think enjoy'd too great happiness, nor was he prone to requite injuries by a due severity. He did not contract friendships by counsel; ---abhorr'd the height of business, which for the most part he committed to unfaithfull persons--- And hence arose the cause of all those evils to the best of Kings, especially through the envy and ambition of Lycogenes, who perfidiously watch'd an opportunity to take advantage of the King's oversights--- And whilst the King*  
ex-



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exempt from cares indulgeth himself in ease, Lycogenes fills the Court with men of his own faction, publickly disposeth of Offices to his friends, as properly belonging to him, to the intent that no part of the Kingdom might be free from infection. And now fury and ambition had taken up Arms for Lycogenes in a manner publickly against the King. Meleander, though late, the War being now ready to break forth, began to be mindfull of his reputation and the cause for which he took the Purple, being inferiour to no Prince in greatness of resolution-- And he, whom nothing could make a captive but his own goodness, was compell'd by the villany of others to  
mani-

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manifest to the world his vertues. Of *Lycogenes* thus ; *Lycogenes* was a man of great courage and counsel, most subtile in pleasing the People ; but he was inferior to no one in perfidiousness and credulity, and as oft as he might with safety, in pride. Would not any one be easily induced to believe that *Charles* and *Meleander*, *Lycogenes* and *Cromwell* were the same persons ; *Priolus* and *Barclay* the same Authours ? Notwithstanding, since in other respects he hath shewn himself a person of great probity and prudence, having discharged the office of an Historian with the greatest exactness, whether his method be consider'd, or the perspicuity



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ity of what he relates, or what is equal to both, truth ; (*dum quid veri dicere ausus, & quid falsi dicere non ausus sit,*) who cannot easily wink at his borrowed ornaments ? Who, in an Historian, ought not to be much more taken with the real worth and beauty of just History than in detecting the blemishes of Oratory ; Since few are able to express the former, it is meanness in any to endeavour the latter ; And now if after many commendations I should at length perceive myself obliged to add something to his discredit, I would be so earnest in setting forth his praises, that when I should come to say any thing to the contrary,

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trary, my breath might fail; and so, if I added nothing, I might not seem so much to favour him as my self. Notwithstanding all this, how adverse soever I have been hitherto from all manner of censure of Books or Authours, I must now confess I cannot well approve of the Epistles of Doctour *Gilbert Burnet* of his travails into *Helvetia*, *Italy*, *France*, and some parts of *Germany*. His too sharp reflexions in almost every page move my choler. What a horrible presumption is it for a private man, in his passage onely through some of the famousst Nations of the World, when for want of time, to  
name

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name nothing else , 'twas impossible for him to understand their Vertues , out of a vain itch of Scribling, to lay open their vices and defects, and publish them as it were from the Pulpit; nay rather than not stuff his Papers, maliciously to forge things not known and unheard of by them? Certainly no Nation under the Sun is so perfectly furnish'd with variety of all good things, as to want nothing; nor so accomplish'd in all vertuous qualities, as never to decline into popular errors, and customary failures, which at first sight seem great to a stranger; but if he thoroughly view and consider the disposition

b

and

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and manners of a People ,  
and acquaint himself with their  
humours, contrary to those of  
his own Nation, they will  
quickly appear to be not one-  
ly not great, but scarce fai-  
lures at all. *Thus nothing is  
more unjust (to use the words  
of Barclay in the first Book of  
his Argenis) than to condemn  
those things which we our selves  
do not doe or see, especially if  
they be approved of by the con-  
sent of whole Nations: for it is  
manifest when time hath made  
them pleasant to us, it was not  
from any intrinsick fault, but  
from our own ignorance that they  
displeased us at first sight; and  
moreover we must suppose that  
every Nation hath both customs  
and*

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and cloathing suitable to the climate, which the genius of the Countrey will insinuate to any one, who will endeavour to inform himself by a just abode there. I must confess our Authour is not the first in this sort of false Accusation, having imitated herein the slanderous *Sorbierius* in his invective against the most polite nation of the *English*; but since he hath been so ingeniously exposed by the famous *Dr. Sprat*, one would have thought no one durst have followed so infamous an example, if not for love of virtue, for fear of punishment: But of that the Doctour is little fearfull in *Holland*, and the other he hath discarded in more

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papers than this. Again, I cannot express how ill I resented it, that a person should asperse whole Nations, and they so great, after having deserved so very ill of such an excellent Prince as his own King. *England* hath been blessed with very many renowned and good Princes, all whose vertues seem to centre in him, than whom certainly none ever more promoted the safety of his People, and the glory and profit of his whole Kingdom, with so much goodness, prudence, courage and constancy. His Subjects own all this, and are sensible of the bounty and magnificence of their King, yet are incapable of



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of taking so full a prospect as those who from foreign parts calmly view and consider all things: Even as men in a great Ship, making its way to the haven through raging waves and furious tempests, being each too intent upon his own affairs, cannot so well judge of the dexterity and prudence of the Pilot, as they who carefully behold all at a due distance. So great is the Reverence and Renown of this Prince amongst other Nations, that what *Scipio* said of the People of *Rome* may be truly applicable to him; || *There is no King upon earth they less desire should be their enemy, or whose friendship they covet more.*

|| *Neminem  
in Terris  
Principem  
hodie di-  
ci posse,  
quem mi-  
nus sibi  
hostem ef-  
se velint,  
aut ami-  
cum ma-  
liant.*

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Now for a person that hath deserved ill of so great a Prince, what addition can be made to his crime, but by calumniating and aspersing whole Nations, nay even the whole World it self? There are onely two things in the World which adorn men, and raise a private person above the vulgar, Vertue and Learning; but Vertue so far exceeds Learning, as it is more commendable to doe than think onely great things, and since no City or Society of men can consist without it. Wherefore they still who could not attain to both, setting aside Learning, readily made choice of Vertue; and some with such benefit to the Common-



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mon-wealth and their Coun-  
treys, that many have almost  
been persuaded that Vertue  
without Learning doth not  
onely not become less, but  
more pure and venerable. An  
example of which, not to  
search into Antiquity, we  
have in that famous Constable  
of *France*, *Monmoranzie*, who  
being in a manner illiterate,  
got notwithstanding so much  
renown, not onely by Marti-  
al conduct, but by the peace-  
able management of State-af-  
fairs, as if all the *Tacitus's*, *Se-  
neca's*, *Plato's* and *Aristotle's*  
had been his Assistants; a con-  
vincing Argument certainly,  
that Vertue is to be preferred  
before Learning, since we see

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it capable of performing all the offices of the other. But our Author is not of this mind. Learning in his opinion is much preferable to Vertue, so that from this alone he seeks to purchase an immortal fame, esteeming no imputation so great and infamous as that of Ignorance. Wherefore, after all that hath been said of his foul aspersions and arrogancy, if still he be esteem'd a Learned man, and, Vertue excepted, throughly accomplish'd; he will laugh and triumph at our vain endeavours, and securely contemn and despise whatever can be said against him. Nevertheless, as to this, I have a great deal to say; yet in such a manner that,  
after

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after I have made appear several of his deceptions, errors and false argmentations, the Reader hath free liberty, if he please, notwithstanding all this, to esteem of him as a most learned and rare accomplish'd Person. After a carefull perusal of all our Authour's Epistles, I find him discharging himself more especially in three respects; 1. that of a Calumniatour, of which I have spoken before; 2. of a Critick; 3. of a Politician. As for the part of a Divine, he never plaid it, but onely once at *Geneva*, where, as he affirms, he preach'd with general applause to the People. As a Critick, 1. he discourfes of the votive Shield at *Lions*; 2. he

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2. he explains an Inscription in Stone which he saw there; 3. he corrects a passage in *Vegetius*; 4. he raises disputes from several Manuscripts, concerning that dubious Saying in Scripture, *There are three that bear record*, &c. and, 5. he comments largely on the Grotto's of *Rome* and *Naples*; which last piece of Criticism, if I mistake not, he mightily fancies to himself to be the best place of his whole Book; but how little he deserves the name of a Critick, in all these, I shall shew in my following Reflexions. It may be thought, perhaps, that being intent upon business of greater moment, as a true Politician searching curiously

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into the secrets of Governments, he was not at leisure to mind such trifling matters. But even here likewise the vanity of the man appears no less, it being matter of just doubt, whether he have approved himself a worse Critick or Politician; the truth of which no one, that will take the pains to read the following papers, can reasonably call in question. He treats chiefly of two Republicks, viz. *Switzerland* and *Venice*; of the former of which I have taken but little notice, being informed by a friend that a learned man of *Zurich* is about a work, in order to expose the insipid errors of the Doctour, and to communicate

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nicate to the learned World the true description of his Country. Of the latter, *viz.* that of the *Venetians*, more at large. And here I cannot sufficiently admire at the pride and vanity of the man, which cause him at the very beginning almost of his first Epistle, in boasting words to promise his Reader, that he would discourse of nothing that had been handled by any one else; a task, as exceeding his ability, so not to be performed by a wandring Traveller for want of leisure. Who can be ignorant how exactly *Soranzio*, a Senatour, *Nanio*, and last of all *Amelottius Houssaius*, have described the Republick of *Venice*? What



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can the Doctour imagine remaining to be said after such persons? Nay, rather what a conceited opinion hath he of his own abilities, in comparison to theirs? But I must confess I am too severe upon our Authour, which injury ought to be redress'd. He declares he will relate nothing that hath been taken notice of by ordinary Writers; wherein he's as good as his word, having writ nothing but forgeries far distant from truth. Such things, I can easily grant, were never said by any one; so that without doubt he may pass for the first Authour of them: Since therefore our Authour's Writings can admit of excuse in  
this

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this particular onely, I shall endeavour to prove it by many and evident arguments, and in so doing endeavour to oblige him. I will oppose therefore to the Doctour that most noble personage *Amelottius*, who for many years resided at *Venice*, and was Secretary in an Embassie from *France*, and employ'd likewise in other publick affairs; whereas the Doctour was there onely fourteen days, as a wandring Minister of God's Word: And if upon comparing these two the courteous Reader shall often find them directly contradicting themselves, he may freely judge which of them deserves rather to be credited; onely

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all this I would desire of him,  
that if he adhere not to the  
Doctour, yet that he would  
believe him not the less lear-  
ned, but that he industriously  
made a shew of ignorance, in  
order to perform his promise.  
Hitherto indeed our Authour  
may seem to have treated of  
things very splendid and ma-  
gnificent, and although some-  
what unhappily, yet the gran-  
deur of the matter seems to  
plead pardon for his errours;  
and that which we learn in the  
Schools may be of some con-  
solation to him, viz. in great  
matters to will is sufficient.  
But if thou desire to know  
more from me, if since it was  
impossible for him to fill three  
hun-

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hundred and six pages with so few things, with what at last he compleated them; and likewise hast a mind to be informed by me whose part he hath acted; in truth I am much afraid his reputation will be utterly blasted, and his'd at by the very boys. Whatever come of it, I am resolved in the first place to conceal nothing, in order to satisfie thy desire. Know therefore that in the following Pages the Doctour acts the part of *Æsop*, but so as not worthy to be taken notice of by men, and onely to be admired by women and children, relating onely bare and empty old wives fables, with which he is so mightily taken, that he

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spends many pages in recounting of them. That single Fable of the Monks of *Bern* is scarcely concluded by our Author in fourteen pages, and he relates innumerable others of the same nature. The remaining space he devotes to the women and damosels, on whom he makes not unlearned observations, whereby he hath much obliged the most obsequious admirers of that fair sex. Notwithstanding they find fault with him for one thing, that even here also he hath plaid the Critick too nicely; one while scornfully twitting the *Swiss Virgins* of being saluted with a touch, and another while those of *Frankford*

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of wearing Mantles with a gold Embroidery of too great a breadth, and this they take intolerably ill, that he was not ashamed to mention putting of hands under the Virgins coats. But that by conversing with women he oftentimes went away much improv'd, he shews even by this, that he learnt with what wonderfull art their Pots were made in which they cook their meat in their Kitchens, as may be seen in his ninety fourth page. Lastly, the Doctour more than once plays the Panegyrist, but altogether as unsuccessfully. His subject indeed sometimes is good, noble and great; but, if you consider narrowly his



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words, you will find him  
lanch out in his commendati-  
ons, not of the worth of his  
subject, but in hopes of pro-  
curing an estimation of his  
own judgment; and how great  
soever the vertues are of the  
person whom he applauds, yet  
notwithstanding he would al-  
ways have it thought that his  
own Eloquence is greater.  
Moreover he mixes such am-  
biguous and sharp things in  
his very Encomiums, that a  
man has need of all the good  
opinion he ever conceiv'd of  
the Authour to keep him from  
believing that by a shew of  
commendation he disparages  
his subject; so that I am of o-  
pinion they are not the most

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unhappy of whom he takes the least notice. But now to say something touching my method. The errours and blemishes as they follow one another in order I demonstrate and confute; nor do I raise a dispute about his words, but when I produce them first without the least alteration. Farthermore, to every Epistle I have added an Argument, that whatever is contained therein may be seen as it were in a short Table. Praise from the work, I most freely confess, I expect none, since there is little need of ingenuity, the Authour's errours being so gross and palpable, that one of a mean capacity might have

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discover'd them. If twice or thrice I seem to animadvert on some slight mistakes, I would be thought, since \* he so severely reprehends the like in others, unwilling to pass them by in him. So when I blame him for putting *Francis* the First before *Charles* the Fifth, any one would think he might easily be pardoned for it, who imagines him of opinion that that order, so strictly adhered to by Secretaries in all Courts, was not worth his observance: and I confess I should have been of the same mind too, had I not found him strictly observing it in another place. For mirth sake I will give you an instance. In the first place, no

See his  
Book a-  
gainst *Va-*  
*rius*.

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one will deny but that between Protestants and Catholicks our Authour will assign the chief place to the first. Secondly, among Protestants onely, without doubt he prefers the *Calvinists* before the *Lutherans*. Now see with what exactness he hath assign'd to each their place, page 283. these are his words; *Prince Charles Lewis built a Church for them all three, which he called the Church of the Concord, in which both, 1. Calvinists, 2. Lutherans, and 3. Papists, had the exercise of their Religion.* I have omitted an innumerable company of other things which might justly be blamed in any other, of which I will relate one or two here.

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At the beginning almost of the first Epistle, *he fancies*, he says, *it will not be an ingratefull entertainment if he give some account of those things that pleased him most in the Places through which he passed.* But the first of all is that which he relates to us in his second page, of the misery and extreme poverty of France: *As I came all the way from Paris to Lyons, I was amazed to see so much misery as appeared, not onely in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the marks of an extreme poverty shewed themselves both in the Buildings, the Cloaths, and almost in the Looks of the Inhabitants.* What more rational consequence can be drawn from

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these words than this, that the Doctour was mightily pleased with the extreme misery of the Inhabitants of *France*? Moreover, it is worth observance, that he is much more copious in exposing the defects and vices of a People, than relating of their vertues; insomuch that he ought to have told us, that he would declare not such things as pleas'd him, but such with which he was displeas'd. In the eighth page, speaking of the Arsenal at *Geneva*, he says, that in proportion to the State it is the greatest in the World, for it contains arms for more men than are in the State; which is absurd enough, for that re-  
strict



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striction, in proportion to the State, hath no force at all here, if you justly weigh the matter, and the sense is this, The Arsenal at Geneva is the greatest in the world: But if he had stated his proposition thus, The People of Geneva, in proportion to their small State, have the greatest Arsenal in the World, then perhaps he would not have err'd much from the truth, nor the consent of his Readers. Page 10. He divides Justice into publick and private, which Division, as it is unknown to all sorts of Ethicks and Politicks hitherto, so in my opinion it is very unmeet and incongruous. For what else is private Justice but clandestine,  
*viz.*

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*viz.* Injustice, since all true Justice is publick? But he understands by private Justice commutative, which, he says, is very ill observ'd by the Merchants of *Geneva*; so that he will not suffer them also to want their Elogium. Page 20. he says, *The Switzers are heavy witted*; although a little after, Page 21. he affirms that *That very Nation hath not onely an extreme sense of liberty*, but, Page 25. that, *They manage all matters with great dexterity and address*, which are most manifest tokens certainly not of a heavy but subtile wit. Pag. 131. *In the Library of St. Mark, at Venice*, he says, *there are no Manuscripts, but Modern*, *viz.*

*f.*

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*such as have been written in our time, to be found; affirming that, none of them are above five hundred years old: But with what reason our Authour can term Manuscripts of five hundred years old Modern, may not unreasonably be question'd by any one. It would take up a whole year, if I were minded to omit nothing of such like stuff as this. Therefore it is satisfaction enough to me to expose some of the grossest passages, that I might not spend too much time, which is exceeding pretious to me; insomuch that those fourteen days which I spent in writing these Notes, I esteem in a manner lost.*

*Farewell.*



( 1 )

REFLEXIONS

UPON

Dr. GILBERT BURNET's

TRAVELS

Into *Switzerland, Italy, and cer-  
tain parts of Germany and  
France, &c.* divided into Five  
LETTERS *Englisht  
from the Latin.*

**B**Efore we come to make our  
Criticks upon the Work it self,  
it will not be amiss to take  
notice of what certain Worthy Per-  
sons have briefly observed concer-  
ning this Book in their *Acta Erudito-  
rum*, published at *Leipsick* on the first  
of *October*, MDCLXXXVII. For as  
all their other Writings are done with  
a great deal of Impartialness and with-  
out Bitterness; so their Abstract being  
B prefix-

## Reflexions upon

prefixed to each of Dr. Burnet's Letters, we intend to make them serve for an Argument to them all: But yet here we mark by the bye, that those *Vertuoso's* are mistaken in this, where, they say, our Authour's Letters were first published in *Italian*; for, being a Native of *Scotland*, he printed them at *Roterdam*, in *English*, MDCLXXXVI. soon after which they were brought into *England*, but presently suppress'd.

The Authour divides his whole Relation into five Letters: The first bearing date from *Zurich*, 1. Sept. 1685. The second from *Milaine*, 2. Octobr. the same year. The third from *Florence*, 13. Novembr. The fourth from *Rome*, 8. Decembr. And the fifth from *Nimegen*, 20. Maii, 1686.

The



The Argument of the first Letter,  
dated at Zurich, Sept. the  
first, in the year, 1685.

OUR Authour begins his Relation from his Travels in *France*, that he went from *Paris* towards *Lyons*, where he has remark'd little else, besides the extreme poverty that was every where apparent in Villages and Towns. At *Lyons* he observed an Inscription not taken notice of by others, (as he pretends) wherein the Husband *Cecilius Calistio* complains of his Wife *Sutia Antis, quod dum Nimia* (thus it was corruptly written) *piæ esset*, that is, Too much and superstitiously pious, *impia facta sit*: which he supposes must be understood of Christianity, which at that time was look'd on as criminal.

At *Grenoble* he found a Manuscript of *Vegetius*, from whence he thinks to give light to a passage concerning the stature of the Souldiers, which in

the printed Books is obscure; they reading, *Scio semper mensuram à Mario Consule exactam*. And in that Manuscript the word *à* is wanting, and for *Mario* there is *III*, whence some body might make *Mario*, as of the *C*. they might make *Consule*; whereas it ought to be read *III, C. trium Cubitorum*.

Of Matters relating to *Geneva*, passing by, as constantly he does, or slightly touching at what is common and known to others, he much extolls one thing and proposes it to the Imitation of greater Cities, namely, that they constantly keep in their publick Granary Provision of Corn for two years, allowing the Citizens notwithstanding to buy their Corn where they please, onely the Bakers and publick Inns being obliged to take off a certain quantity, with a moderate gain to the Common-wealth, which yet in a little time will suffice to pay vast Debts. Then he compares the practice at *Rome* with this of *Geneva*.

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At *Rome*, says he, all the Corn of the Province must be sold to the Pope. The Seller receives, though but slowly, five Ducats *per* Bushel: This Bushel afterward in the Pope's Name, though a fifth part less, for double price; so for five shillings the Exchequer receives twelve. Then more Corn is forced upon the Bakers every year than they can put off, and what's left upon their hands the Exchequer buys back again at the first price of Ducats. This is explained, &c. and by this invention now continued for thirty years, he writes that the Pope's Countrey is so desolate, that a great part of the Land, because it cannot be us'd to advantage, lyes quite neglected, but that the Magistrates of *Geneva* are contented with small gain. Other things which he commends at *Geneva*, are the publick Frugality which appears by the smalness of their stipends, the number of Learned Men, the Civility of the Inhabitants, the exactness of their Judicatures, their good Laws, especially that whereby all

Lands, even though the price is agreed on between the Buyer and the Seller, are exposed to publick Sale, to the advantage both of the Possessours and Creditours. What he says concerning the form of the Commonwealth, and of the protection, which that City ought to expect from *Berne* and *Zurich*, and of the danger whereinto they are fallen, now that by the neglect of the *Switzers*, the Dutchy of *Burgundy* is annexed to *France*, also of the Lake of *Geneva*, and of its Fish, and what else he adds, we omit. Then he commends *Nicolas Fatio Duillier*, and treats largely of the Affairs of *Berne*.

He sets forth the power of that Common-wealth which, he says, commands above a third part of *Switzerland*, and contains 450 Parishes. He commends many things in the Civil and Ecclesiastick Government, this chiefly, that the Subjects are not drain'd with Tributes, and therefore live much more easily than in the more flourishing Countries of *France* and

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and *Italy*. One thing he finds fault with, that the Governours of Towns and Villages which are subject to the City gain mightily by the Mulcts of the Inhabitants, which serves for their Salary. He tells us how the ill consequences of Bandyings and Factions, which were used in the Election of Officers were lately prevented by a wholesome Law. He says, the City, which of it self is not over strong, owes its Security as well to the number and courage of her Citizens and Inhabitants, who all bear Arms, as to the emulation of the neighbouring Princes, for equally conserving the Society and Friendship of *Switzerland*. Yet again he advises of the dangerous neighbourhood of *France* in *Burgundy*. He observ'd a notable difference in the Laws relating to Religion; for the Men of *Berne* and other Cities of *Switzerland* which follow the reformed Religion, onely command their Subjects, if any dissent therefrom, to go out of their Dominions, and permit them to enjoy their Possessions, or sell



them and bear away the value. But under the Roman-Catholicks 'tis Death for any to change their Religion. This severity both lately and heretofore occasions Discords and Wars between the *Cantons*, which yet by the prudence and moderation of the Nobility are easily appeas'd, even the Pope's *Nuncio's* concurring to quiet Counsels towards the conservation of the *Switzers* Peace and Freedom for the security of *Italy*, dispensing with that zeal which otherwise they shew against Protestants.

On occasion of a Description of the Churches of *Berne* he relates a Story of a certain Dominican in counterfeiting the appearance of the Blessed *Virgin Mary* and other crimes, for which the Authours were executed, *An. 1509*. He says he saw the authentick Acts of 130 pages, written in a small character, and he carefully read them, and observed, that the printed Editions were not exact and correct enough, &c. Among the Roman-Catholicks at *Fribourg* in *Vitchland* and elsewhere,



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elsewhere, he notes the highest degree of Superstition, and the like.

He very much commends the Polity of the Church of *Zurich* and their great Charity bestowed on Hospitals: But when he has related, that Sermons are daily had there, being formerly brought in by the Reformers in lieu of their daily Masses, he advises to contract them, supposing thereby, that the People would come more frequently, and listen more attentively. He adds, That their Preachers would do better, if, holding to their first use, they would employ themselves in the plain exposition of Scripture; for so (says he) they will more and more attain to the sense thereof, which is the true knowledge of a Minister of the Gospel, and ease themselves of that labour, which those long and elaborate Sermons require, though yet they do but little edifie the People. Among the Archives of the Chapter of *Zurich*, he saw a great many Letters of *Bullinger* and other famous Men. He adds something concerning the

the Dissensions relating to Priestly habits, between the Bishops and Presbyterians in *England*.

We must not forget a Relation of our Authour concerning a Passage, 1 Ep. John 5. 7. *There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, &c.* Upon which account our Authour perused Manuscript Bibles among the *Switzers* and in *Italy*. The summe is this: In the *Greek Copies*, which he saw, that Verse is not found, nor in many of the *Latin*, though 800 or 900 years old, in some, that it was written but in another hand. That it is found in the Book of *Geneva*, and also in the *Venetian Library* of *S. Mark*, and in the *Florentine* of *S. Laurence*, and in one of four at *Straisbourg*. That in all these the eighth Verse is misplaced and joined unto it by the word *sicut*. But he admires that it is omitted even in those, before which *S. Jerom's* Preface is read, which defends that Passage against the *Arians*; and that *Erasmus* did not add that Preface to his Edition of *S. Jerom*, when yet he

he saw it in a Manuscript at *Basel* and the same is found in many more. By the way he observes, that in the *Vatican* Library there are no Copies of the Bible above 400 years old, except a *Greek* one, which is accounted but onely by conjecture to be of 1400 years standing.

After this Digression, returning to the Matters of *Switzerland*, he highly extolls the Goodness which the reformed *Switzers* shew to such *Frenchmen* as are driven out of their Countrey for the same Religion.

Then he speaks of the difference between the reformed Divines about the Question of the Universality of the Merit and Grace of *Jesus Christ* and others, which our Authour calls Speculative, they not touching the Foundation of Religion. But the People of *Zurich* and *Berne*, and afterwards of *Geneva*, compell'd all that desire to be admitted to either Ecclesiastick or Scholastick Office, to subscribe to a certain Form, which is rejected by *Amiraldus*, *Capellus* and their Followers.

He

He dislikes this as a matter of Curiosity in things of small moment and much more (though he says he has a great respect for the Divines of that City) the usurping of that Power which onely belongs to God; who has Dominion over Consciences, and he reckons the Invention of such Forms fatal to the Church.

## REFLEXIONS.

## I.

Page 4. *The Shield of Silver of 22 Pounds weight, in which some Remains of guil- ding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of Sci- pio's, of restoring a fair Captive to a Celtiberian Prince, is certainly the No- blest piece of Plate that is now extant.*

We shall observe three Things from these words.

I. Our Authour says this Shield is of 22 Pounds weight; whereas the fa- mous Sponius, dans ses Recherches cu- rieuses d'antiquité, Dissertation I. af- firms it to weigh but 21 Pounds; and also

also our Authour adds a Pound, which by no means becomes so able and accurate a Searcher of Antiquity as he would fain be thought, especially in a thing so notable; for, as he himself professes, it is the noblest piece that has been handed down from old times to ours. And though this may seem but a slight difference, yet if every Critick should think so, and in like manner add one Pound a piece, how far from Truth would this be at last? However I have no other Design here but to shew, that our Authour may err and not care to be exact. No man will deny the Authority of *Sponius* to be greater than his in this matter, who doth but know that he is an Inhabitant of that City wherein this Shield is kept, and most learnedly wrote an entire Dissertation thereupon.

II. He onely calls it a Shield, without any other distinction of Name, thereby giving his Readers great reason to doubt of the Truth of the matter, since no man can use a Shield of  
that

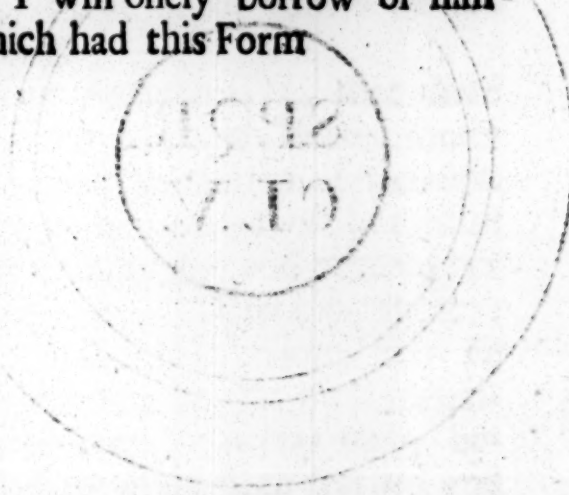


that weight for the defence of his Body; these are the words of *Sponius*,  
*On n'aura pas la pensee, que ce fut un  
 bouclier pour la guerre, si l'on prend  
 garde à sa pesanteur, qui auroit trop  
 fatigué le bras d'un Soldat. Dissertati-  
 on I. de ses Recherches curieuses. d'anti-  
 quité.*

It is therefore a votive Shield. Now  
 your votive Shields were large *Disci*  
 of Metal whereon were engraven the  
 Figures of *Hero's* and their memora-  
 ble Actions; which were devoted and  
 hung up in the Temples of the Gods,  
 which was a most ancient usage, and  
 perhaps took its rise from that cu-  
 stome among the *Greeks* of painting  
 and engraving Shields of War; as  
 in *Homer* we find of *Achilles* and  
*Ajax* his Shield. *Livy* in XXVth.  
 Book relates, that in the Temple of  
 the Capitol there was a Silver Shield  
 of 138 Pound weight with the Image  
 of *Asdrubal* of the *Barchin* Family, as  
 a Monument of *Lucius Martius* his  
 Victory over the *Carthaginians*. In  
 the Triumph of *Titus Quintus Flami-*  
*nus*



nus over Philip, King of Macedonia, Son of Demetrius, there were among the Spoils ten Shields of Silver and one of massy Gold; which with many Patterns of other votive Shields may be seen in *Jac. Spon. Miscell. Erud. Antiquit.* as also in *Saumaize in loco de Clypeis*. I will onely borrow of him one, which had this Form



This



This Shield was dedicated to *Augustus* by the Senate and People of *Rome*, as these Letters mean: *S. P. Q. R. C. L. V.* being the initials of these words, *Senatus Populusque Romanus Clypeum Votivum*, or, *Vovet Cæsari Augusto*. This Shield stands bellying out about the middle, as that about which we are discoursing.

III. Our Authour says, that there seems to him to be represented therein that generous Action of *Scipio's*, whereby he quitted a most beautifull Virgin of Captivity, and restored her to her Spouse a *Celtiberian Prince*; so that a man would believe, that he was the Authour of this most ingenious Conjecture, whereas many before him have given such learned and clear Proofs concerning the Truth of the matter, that they have left no place for any one to doubt of it. First, I shall repeat this memorable Story out of *Livy*, and then produce *Sponius* his application thereof to the Shield. These are his words: "There was brought

" to him by Souldiers a captive Maid,  
C " which-

" which was so beautifull that she  
 " charm'd all that beheld her. *Scipio*  
 " ask'd her of what Countrey and  
 " Parentage she was? She answered,  
 " she was betrothed to a young Prince  
 " of the *Celiberians* by name *At-*  
 " *tius*. Presently he sends for her  
 " Relations and Spouse who he heard  
 " loved her extremely, whom he  
 " discourses more pecutiarily than the  
 " rest. Being a young man my self,  
 " I call you a young man, lest you  
 " may be ashamed of the word. When  
 " your Spouse was brought to me  
 " by my Souldiers, and that I heard  
 " you lov'd her entirely which might  
 " be easily believ'd of so fair a Person.  
 " I must confess I could love her my  
 " self; if the occupations of the Com-  
 " mon-wealth did suffer me to indulge  
 " the dalliance of Love, and therefore  
 " I must needs shew my self indulgent  
 " and favourable to the Love you  
 " bear. Your Spouse has been as  
 " chastly kept here with us, as if she  
 " had been with her own Parents and  
 " Kindred, and this care was used,  
 " that

“ that I might be able to make you a  
“ Present becoming me and your self.  
“ I require this onely recompense for  
“ such a gift , that you will become  
“ a Friend to the Common-wealth of  
“ *Rome*; and if by what you have  
“ seen , you will judge me to be an  
“ honest man, and such as these your  
“ Countrey-men have experienced my  
“ Father and Uncle to have been for-  
“ merly towards them; I would have  
“ you to know, that there are many  
“ more such other as we in the City  
“ of *Rome*, and that you shall find no  
“ People on the Earth whom you  
“ might so much wish to be your  
“ Friends, or less desire to be your  
“ Enemies. The young man, over-  
“ come with joy and shame, and hbl-  
“ ding fast *Scipio's* hand, invoked all  
“ the Gods to render thanks for him  
“ to such an *Hero* , seeing he was un-  
“ able himself to thank him sufficient-  
“ ly or answerably to his Deserts.  
“ The Virgin's Parents that had  
“ brought a great deal of Gold with  
“ them for to redeem her , seeing

" that she was restored to them gra-  
 " tis, they begged *Scipio* to accept  
 " of that Money as a Present, which  
 " they would take as kindly from  
 " him as the restoring of their Daugh-  
 " ter. *Scipio*, finding them to be ur-  
 " gent, accepted of the same, and bid  
 " them lay it at his Feet, and calling  
 " to him *Allutius*, he said, I present  
 " you with this Gold as a Dowry  
 " with your Mistress over and above  
 " what you are to receive from your  
 " Father-in law with her. So that be-  
 " ing dismiss'd with such Honours and  
 " Presents, he returned home, filling  
 " the Countrey with the report of the  
 " Merits and Praises of *Scipio*, that  
 " there was a young man come much  
 " like the Gods, overcoming all be-  
 " fore him, as well by the force of  
 " his Arms, as by the Charms of his  
 " Bounty and Gifts.

Now the Form of our Shield is this:

Which

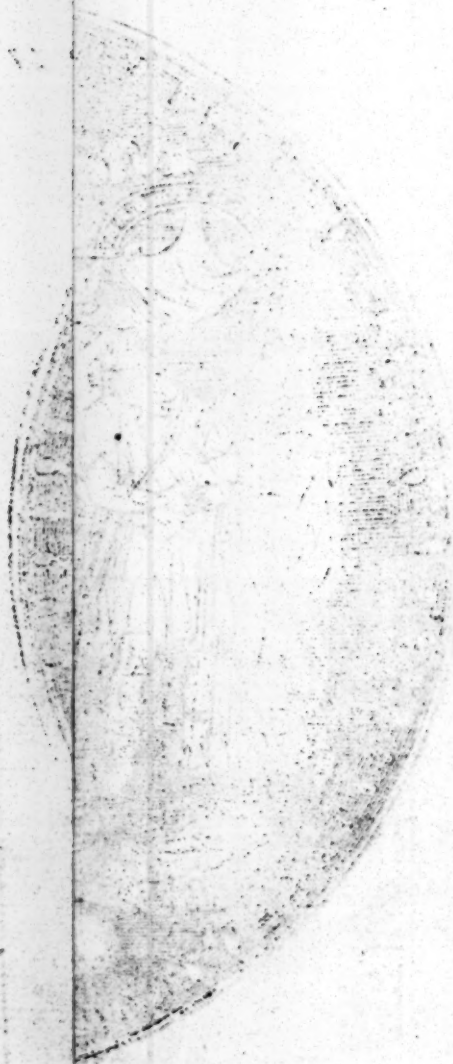


*Ex Musæo D Octavii Mey Cæris Lugdunensis*

*page. 20. 21*



*Clypeus Votivus*



Which is thus explained by *Spautus*; *Scipio* sits in the middle, half cover'd with a Mantle onely, his Beard close cut, after the manner of the *Romans* at that time, holding a Spear in his hand, the Symbol of Imperial Dignity. There stand about him four *Spaniards*, known by their rough Beards, as was customary with them, being the Parents and Relations of *Allutus* and the Virgin, who beseech him to accept of a Gratuity for his restoring the Virgin unto them. She stands modestly by with her Spouse, who gives her his Hand and Faith, and embraces her with the other Hand. The young man is Beardless, but his Hair is rough, like his Countreymens; there sits a *Spaniard* naked on the ground, perhaps one of the Captives, who admires *Scipio*. Arms are scattered here and there, tokens of a Victory already obtain'd, which both a Tribunal set up in manner of a Triumphal Arch and *Tritons* publish with their Trumpets. Lastly, Two *Romans*, Tribunes of the People, cloathed in Mail, bearing

ring a Shield and Ensign, being Beardless, stand by the old Man, who speaks to *Scipio*, one whereof, perhaps, was *Laelius* the Admiral.

This Shield was found *Anno Domini*, MDCLVI. by Fishermen in the *Rhône* near *Avignon*, and this way *Scipio* must go out of *Spain* into *Italy*. But this so laudable Deed of *Scipio's*, and the winning of *New-Carthage* happened *A. V. C.* 543. i. e. 210 years before *Christ*, to which if you add 1688 years, you'll find the Shield to be 1898 years old.

Page 4.

The embossing of it is so fine and so entire, that it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an Inscription upon it to put us beyond Conjecture, it were yet much more inestimable.

First, he says, the Shield is invaluable; but if there were an Inscription, it were yet much more inestimable, wherein he contradicts himself; for, if it can be more highly rated, then

it

it could not be before invaluable. Besides, this term Invaluable is an infinite Negative, nor according to the nature of infinites can it admit *degrees* or *minors*. The Proposition is to be explain'd thus: This Shield is inestimable, *i. e.* None can esteem it: But when I say that with the addition of some certain circumstance it will be more inestimable, I understand more Nones besides that none that cannot esteem it. How unworthy of a Philosopher is this manner of speaking, and what a Solecism is this in Rhetorick?

*A great many Inscriptions are to be seen of the late and barbarous age, &c.* Page 5.

*I shall only give you one, because I made a little Reflexion on it, though it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the Criticks have thought on it.*

Here a Man would believe, that the  
Doctor affirms, that no mention has  
C 4 been



been made by any other Writer of this Inscription, which he recites, as the *Virtuoso's* of *Leipsick*, whose words are these: At *Lyons*, as he notes, he observed an Inscription, not taken notice of by others, *In Aetis erudit. paulo antè citatus*: Which yet is apparently false; for the same Inscription, not to mention others, is taken notice of by *Gruterus*, in *Inscript. antiq. Roman.* pag. 836. But we'll believe that those words of his are not to be understood concerning the Inscription but its Declaration; the praise of which Discovery none may envy him, since it stands but on slight ground. The Inscription is thus read in his Letter:

*D. M. Et Memoriae Aeternae Suae  
Anthidis. Quae vixit annis XXV.  
M. XI. D. V. Quae dum Nimia pia fuit,  
facta est impia: Et Attio Probatolo,  
Cecalius Calistio Conjux & Pater, &  
sibi vivo ponendum curavit & sub ascia  
dedicavit.*

On these words, *Quae dum nimia pia fuit, facta est impia*, He founds his Conjecture, that it was written in  
a bar.



a barbarous age, and even the bottom of all his explication. But it is far otherwise read by *Gruter*, and that in this manner:

D. M.

E T. M E M O R I A E.

A E T E R N A E.

S U T I A E. A N T. I I I. P I S  
Q U A E V I X I I. A N N I S. X X V.

M. X I. D. V. Q U A E. D U M  
N I M I A R I A. F U I T. F A C T A  
E S T. I M P I A. E T A T T I O. P R O  
B A T I O L O. C E R E A L I U S C A

L I S T I O. C O N J U X. E T  
P A T E R : : : . E T. S I B I

V I V U S. P O N E N D U M  
C U R A V I T. E T. S U B. A S  
C I A. D E D I C A V I T.

Whether this reading is more true than that of our Authour's, and what Office or Condition of life is signified by the word *Nimiaria*, I shall not trouble my self to examine; yet our Authour himself seems to favour this reading, by beginning *Nimia* with a great Letter.

How-

However let us give him the Bell; let us rather believe an Eyewitness, than *Gruter*, in things, which he received at second Hand, but yet that from *Scaliger* (and he, how great a Man! and how exact in weighing matters) but yet his Opinion will not therefore stand, nor that Conjecture, that therefore it was writ in a barbarous Age, if we may be allow'd to make our Conjecture also, and are not wholly forbid that Liberty. Wherefore by changing the Comma's a little in the Doctour's Inscription, whereby he thus distinguishes the words, and which doubtless, since they are never used in old Inscriptions came from him, we reckon the words may be read thus,

*D. M.*  
*Et Memoriae Aeternae*  
*Sutiae Antbidis, &c.*  
*Quae dum nimia, pia fuit;*  
*facta est impia,*  
*Quae dum nimia, i. e. nimium felix*  
*vel dives, vel potens fuit, pia fuit,*  
 that

that is, after the manner of tender Persons, which is frequently hinted in Scripture; but when she began to be a little afflicted (which is here understood) *facta est impia*, she changed her copy. That this manner of expression was usual, we shall shew from several and most approved Authors. So *Corn. Tacit. Hist. l. 3. c. 52.* concerning Anthony; *Erant inter Duces qui neccerent moras, quippe jam nimius Antonius.* And *Hist. l. 4. c. 23.* *Præferoces initio & rebus secundis nimii.* So *Florus, lib. 3. c. 15.* *Jamque nimius & potens altero Tribanatu.*

Nor will the Doctour wonder any more, that the Husband should inscribe such reflecting words on his Wife's Tomb, when he himself intended to lye there, since there are many other Inscriptions of the like nature as that facetious one in a certain Oratory without Rome remembered by *Petrus Appianus* and *Bartholomæus Amantius*, in *Inscriptionibus suis*, S. S. *Vetustatis*, pag. 314.

HEUS VIATOR MIRACULUM!  
 HE VIR ET UXOR NON LITIGANT,  
 QUI SUMUS NON DICO,  
 AT IPSA DICAM:  
 HIC BEBRIUS EBRIUS ME EBRIAM  
 NUNCUPAT,  
 NON DICO AMPLIUS  
 HEU! UXOR  
 ET IAM MORTUA LITIGAS.

We shall note one thing more  
 which we observed in our Authour's  
 Inscription. He reads, *Et sibi vitæ  
 ponendum curavit*. What Nonsense is  
 this? Would the Owner of the Tomb  
 have himself buried alive? Certainly  
 I wonder that the Doctor does not  
 more wonder at this than at the  
 strange Testimony which the Hus-  
 band gives of his Wife on the Stone.  
 Give me leave to produce my Conjecture  
 of this matter. Our Authour  
 says he believes that the Wife was  
 here a Christian, but I should rather  
 say, that the Husband was a Christian

And therefore as the Christians formerly for fear of Heathens lived in the Catacombs, so he was minded to be in his Tomb for the same reason. At, to be serious, by this one word you may see that our Authour was not over exact in copying this Inscription, and as in this, so in other things to have lean'd too much to fancifull Conjectures, and consequently, that the reading of Gruter is to be preferred to his; for that reading, *Sibi vivum ponendum curavit* is thus to be corrected: *Sibi vivus ponendum curavit*; *Sibi vivos*, which perhaps occasion'd our Authour to mistake, for you shall frequently meet with *vivos* for *vivus* in old Inscriptions, as Sponius observes very well in *Histor. Genev.* where he repeats this Inscription which was found there:

M. JUL. MARCIANUS  
SIBI. VIVOS. POSTERISQUE  
SUIS. FECIT.



**HEUS VIATOR MIRACULUM!**  
**HE VIR ET UXOR NON LITIGANT**  
**QUI SUMUS NON DICO,**  
**AT IPSA DICAM:**  
**HIC BEBRIUS EBRIUS ME EBRIA**  
**NUNCUPAT,**  
**NON DICO AMPLIUS**  
**HEU! UXOR**  
**ET IAM MORTUA LITIGAS.**

We shall note one thing more which we observed in our Authour's Inscription. He reads, *Et sibi imponendum curavit*. What Nonsense is this? Would the Owner of the Tomb have himself buried alive? Certainly I wonder that the Doctor does more wonder at this than at the strange Testimony which the Husband gives of his Wife on the Stone. Give me leave to produce my Conjecture of this matter. Our Author says he believes that the Wife was here a Christian, but I should rather say, that the Husband was a Christian.



and therefore as the Christians formerly for fear of Heathens lived in the Catacombs, so he was minded to live in his Tomb for the same reason. But, to be serious, by this one word you may see that our Authour was not over exact in copying this Inscription, and as in this, so in other things to have lean'd too much to fancifull Conjectures, and consequently, that the reading of *Gruter* is to be prefer'd to his; for that reading, *Sibi vivo ponendum curavit* is thus to be corrected: *Sibi vivus ponendum curavit*; or, *Sibi vivos*, which perhaps occasion'd our Authour to mistake, for you shall frequently meet with *vivos* for *vivus* in old Inscriptions, as *Sponius* observes very well in *Histor. Genev.* where he repeats this Inscription which is found there:

M. JUL. MARCIANUS  
SIBI. VIVOS. POSTERISQUE  
SZIS. FECIT.

## IV.

Page 6. *In one Manuscript of Vegetius, de re militari, there is a clear correction of a passage, that in all the printed Editions is not sense: In the Chapter of the size of Souldiers he begins: Scio semper mensuram à Mario Consule exactam: à is in no MS. and Mario Consule is a mistake, for trium cubitorum, for III. which are for trium have been read M. and C. which stands for Cubitorum, as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read Consule; so the true reading of that passage is, Scio mensuram trium cubitorum fuisse semper exactam.*

He says that this absurd reading, *à Mario Consule*; is in all the printed Books of *Vegetius*; whereas it is only to be found in the *Paris Edition*.

They are the exprefs words of *Godefsc. Stewichius*; *Illud ( à Mario Consule ) glossarium esse rectè censuit Janus Mellerus Palmerius, neque id ulli libri agnoscunt, unâ Parisiensi editione exceptâ*

excepta. In Comment. ad diff. Vegeti-  
locum.

In the Edition of Paris, an. MDXI.  
the words are thus printed, *Proceri-  
tatem Tyronum, à Mario Consule ad  
Victoriam, scio semper exactam*, lib. i.  
c. 5. In another Paris Edition, anno  
MDLIII. you'll find the same words:  
But the other Editions are quite and  
clean different here. I confess in the  
Plantin Edition *Raphelengii, anno  
MDCVII.* the same words are read in  
the Text, but with these words ad-  
ded in the Margin, *In optimis membra-  
nis est: Tyronum quondam scio semper  
exactam, puta, ut senor. Petrus Scri-  
verius, in his Notes upon the said  
Place of Vegetius says, That once he  
suspected, that Vegetius wrote, A Con-  
sule in area, i. e. Capitolina. Where  
the Consuls made their Musters; but  
he adds, that in two of his MSS. these  
words are plainly read, Ad Incomam  
scio semper exactam. But in the Pa-  
latine MS. Incoma. Which serve to  
confirm Salmasius his opinion on the  
said Place. The forecited Stewichius  
reads*

reads thus in his MSS. *Proceritatem Tyronum ad incommoda scio semper exactam*, and that reading aforementioned, *Proceritatem, Tyronum, sc. scio quondam semper exactam*, he would have corrected thus, that *commodam* should be read for *quondam*, and for that reading he brings many and weighty reasons, *Quas vide in Comment. suo ad Veget. l. 1. c. 5.* Of this *commoda statura*, among others, thus *Plantus*, in his *Afinaria*,

*Qua facie noster Saurea est, si is est,  
Jam scire potero.*

LI. *Macilentus malis, rufulus, aliquantum ventricosus,  
Truculentis oculis, Commoda statura,  
tristi fronte.*

this, *Commoda statura*, *Stewichius* most learnedly demonstrates to be one and the same with the middle and military stature.

Having thus set forth the Readings of others, and some of them not unluckily, let us now a little consider the Reading of Mr. *Choriers* his MS which to our Authour seems so plain and

and beyond all exception. He says, that à is in no MS. and that all read most falsely *Mario Consule* for *tribus cubitis*; for III. which signifies *tribus* they took for M. and C. which stands for *cubitis*, for *Consule*, as appears (they are the Doctour's words) by all that follows. But from hence we shall demonstrate, that this Reading is not so clear, but rather senseless. The whole, after our Authour's emendation runs thus; *Scio mensuram trium cubitorum fuisse semper exactam, ita ut senos pedes, vel certè quinos & denas uncias habentes inter alares equites, vel in primis legionum cohortibus haberentur, l. i. c. 5.* Is the measure of three Cubits, thus explained here by six Foot, or at least five and ten Inches? Nonsense without doubt! For a Cubit is six Hands breadth, that is, 24 Digits, as *Vitruvius* says, and a Foot but four Hands breadth, which make sixteen Digits or twelve Inches, as *Frontinus*. Now if six Hands breadth, which make one Cubit, are multiplied by those three Cubits, which are re-

D

quired



quired for the Stature of a Man, you have 18 Hands breadth,  $3\frac{6}{8}$ . On the other side, if you multiply the 4 Hands breadth, which make one Foot by those six Foot, which *Vegetius* requires, there will be 24 hands breadth  $4\frac{6}{8}$ . Hence these words are thus to be explained, *Scio mensuram octodecim palmarum fuisse semper exactam, ita ut viginti quatuor palmas habentes*, &c. What ridiculous stuff is here? But let us grant that this last measure must be understood of others, and that of those who are required for the first Cohorts of the Legions, and the first for others; yet this opinion will be nevertheless incongruous, while we believe so great a difference among the Souldiers to be requisite, that it would be necessary to suppose the first Cohorts of the Legions, or the Wings of Horse, to exceed the others a fourth part in the measure of their Bodies. Moreover, *Vegetius* speaks of that measure as very rare, difficult and infrequent. For he says, this was then required, while there was a greater number



to be enrolled; *Hæc mensura tunc requirebatur cum amplior esset multitudo, pluresque militiam sequerentur armatam, l. l. c. 5.* But we are so far from believing a Man of three Cubits high to be large, that we rather think him much less than the ordinary stature of a Man; for the ordinary stature amounts to four Cubits.

V.

*For since the being of the little Council leads one to the Syndicat, which is the chief Honour of the State, this dignity is courted here (at Geneva) with as active and solicitous an ambition as appears elsewhere for greater matters. Et paulò post, The Citizens of Bern consider these Balliages as their inheritance, and they are courted in this state, perhaps with as much intrigue as was ever used among the Romans in the distribution of their Provinces.*

Here the manner of courting Dignities seems very familiar to the Doc-

four. But how insipid is he? whenever any one seeks out for a little of fice, if we may believe our Authour, he spares no pains, hazards, intrigues, nay, and wicked Plots also, as the *Romans* formerly for obtaining their Provinces. In describing of that great ambition of the *Romans*, many have taken great pains, and many Volumes are filled therewith; for we know, that besides many horrid and deep Plots, they made no bones to obtain one Province, though by the death of their Friends, and the extreme hazard of their Prince and Countrey. Now let us see what like Intrigues the Men of *Bern* use to give a Balliage, what pains they are at, what hazards they run, what enormities they perpetrate? These are our Authour's words; *All that they propose is, to make a Balliage sure to them, for this they feast and drink.* I have done.

VI.

*And it is likely that by some conveyance under ground they may have come into Channels, that fall into this Lake.*

Our Authour wonders at the variety of Fishes in the Lake of Geneva, and anxiously disputes, how it should come to pass, that one sort of Fish, which before some years was never seen there, should now be found therein; and, forsooth, he suspects, that they came into the Lake by some subterraneous Channels. But all to no purpose. For if he had enquired of one of the meanest Rusticks or of those that dwell near the Lake, he would doubtless have heard, that at such a time of the year, they were obliged to sling in certain Vessels full of sundry sorts of Fishes, which would soon have put an end to this so subtle Disputation.

## VII.

Pag. 14. *It is not onely a great Pond made by the Rhosne, that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmix'd, as some Travellers have fondly imagined.*

Here the Doctour, out of his natural inclination of carping at others, argues all those as guilty of great Folly or Falshood, who affirm, that the Rhosne, while it passes the Lake, keeps its Waters sincere and unmixt, and absolutely denies the truth of the matter. Yet it is well known, that *Sponius*, a most accurate Writer, in his History of *Geneva*, is of the other side, and although he denies, that it passes the whole Lake unmixt, yet he affirms, that it passes for the space of half an hour, without the least mixture of the Lakes, These are his words; *Puisque nous parlons du Rhosne & du Lac, il ne sera pas hors de propos d'eclaircir une difficulté, que font naitre les Auteurs: qui est de sçavoir, si le Rhosne passe à travers de*  
Lac

Lac sans meler ses eaux avec luy, & si l'on remarque son cours au milieu des eaux dorman, les du Lac—

Voicy ce qu' Ammien Marcellin en a dit au liv. 15. de son Histore. Et quoniam ad has partes opere contexto pervenimus, &c. And because we are come thus far, it will not be amiss to speak something of that famous River of Rhosne. The Rhosne being enforced with a great plenty of Fountains, flows down from the Mountains called *Monte Maggiore di Sancto Bernhardo*, and hasting to the Plains with a prone impetuosity, covers the Banks with its own violent Streams, and so flings itself into the Lake of Geneva, and passes through it unmixt, by reason of its rapid force, not waiting to join with those slow and unactive Waters: whence without any loss it is carried through the midst of the Lake, and in its progress waters the Dauphine on the left side and the Lyons on the right. *Plusieurs Auteurs modernes ont suivy le sentiment de cet antien. En voicy la verité que j'ay ap-*



prise de plusieurs Personnes qui demeurent aux environs de ce Lac, & qui ont souvent passé d'un bord à l'autre. Le Rhosne entrant avec beaucoup de vitesse dans le Lac, court environ une demi heure ou plus sans confondre ses eaux avec lui se faisant distinguer par sa couleur grisatre : mais vis à vis de Vevay, de Lauzanne, de Rolle & de Nions, c'est à dire presque toute la longueur du Lac, on ne scauroit aucunement distinguer le Rhosne par son mouvement, ni par sa couleur. Il est vray que depuis copet jusqu'à Geneve les fonds du Lac commencent etre un peu en pente, il commence aussi loin des bords à s'écouler tout doucement pour se décharger des eaux du Rhosne & des autres ruisseaux qu'il avoit receu dans son sein. Cette rapidité du Rhosne avant qu'entrer dans le Lac est cause d'une singularité qui luy arrive en hyver en cet endroit là c'est que le fonds de cette riviere se gele souvent, sans que le dessus soit gelé, parceque le fonds étant plus en repos est plutôt surpris par le froid, au lieu que la surface est continuel-



muelllement agite & renouvellee par l'eau  
qui luy succede. Thus far Sponius.

VIII.

They have many Hospitals well en- Pag. 49.  
tained; in one I was told there was  
650 Poor kept: but as they support the  
real Charities which belong to such En-  
dowments, so they despise that vain  
magnificence of Buildings, which is too  
generally affected elsewhere.

What big words are these? He finds  
fault, and blames those things which  
can never be enough commended, and  
reproves them even in the greatest  
Princes of Europe. For those who  
have happened to see *Paris* and *Lon-  
don*, do there admire a most magnifi-  
cent Infirmary call'd *des Invalides*, and  
here *Bethlehem* and *Chelfey*, most  
splendid, ample and curious Palaces,  
and even thence make an esteem of  
the Grandeur and Liberality of the  
two Kings of *England* and *France*, who  
have such Care and Charity for poor,  
old, distracted and diseased Men, that  
they receive them into their own Hou-  
ses,

ses, or which is the same, into Houses worthy to be their own; nor do they onely receive them, but most plentifully relieve them by their Royal hands, with all things, Food and Cloaths, &c.

Yet our Authour finds fault with this Goodness, and calls it a vain Magnificence, which others despise. What good Man could pardon such Malignity? Why doth he not equally blame the magnificent Structures of Temples? They are both dedicated to God. In the one we pray, that God would doe good unto us; in the other we doe good, as I may so say, to God. For what we give unto the poor, we lend unto the Lord.

And moreover, if we consider the thing a little more heedfully, we shall find that these most splendid Houses, thus set a-part for poor Men, are not onely an Effect, but also a Cause of Royal Liberality. For these Monuments being hereby continually in their view, they remember for what end they were erected, and because

Foreigners flock thither to satisfy their curiosity, for their own honour sake they take care that nothing be wanting: And so either their Piety extorts large donations, or ambition and love of Glory provokes them. Either of them bring a like advantage to the Poor, and hence any one may see how our Authour sins against the Poor, and that he may be suspected guilty of any crime, who blushes not to insult on the Sacred Majesty of Princes.

IX.

Among the Archives of the Dean Pag. 50,  
and Chapter there is a vast Collection 51, 52.  
of Letters written either to Bullinger  
or by him, &c. Of which I read almost  
a whole Volume while I was there:  
Most of them contain onely the general  
News, but some were more important, and  
relate to the Disputes then on foot, con-  
cerning the Habits of the Clergy, which  
gave the first beginnings to our unhappy  
Divisions: and by the Letters, of which  
I read

*I read the Originals, it appears, that the Bishops preserved the ancient Habits rather in compliance with the Queen's inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them. Et paulò post. And in many Letters writ on that subject it is asserted, that both Cranmer and Ridley intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Habits, and they onely defended their lawfulness, and not their fitness.*

He says the Bishops allow'd the Clergy to make use of their proper Habits onely out of compliance to Queen *Elizabeth*, who was very resolute for the maintenance of them. Amongst whom he seems to reckon *Cranmer*, notwithstanding he died long before Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown. But this Point I shall leave to be discuss'd by them whom it may more nearly concern.

## X.

Pag. 53. *The last particular, with which I intend to end this Letter might seem a little too learned.*

It

It seems our Authour is afraid lest, in spite of his Teeth, his Epistle should seem too learned. What a piece of extravagant arrogance is this? But I will proceed to confute him from his own words. Too much Learning can onely flow from him who hath too much of it; therefore our Authour hath too much Learning, and consequently he is either very badly learned, or very learnedly bad. But be it so! Let him have his own opinion, we won't fall out with him.

XI.

*I have taken some pains in my Travels to examine all the ancient MSS. of the New Testament, concerning that doubted passage of St. John's Epistle: There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one. Bullinger doubted much of it because he found it not in an ancient Latin MS. at Zurich, which seems to be about 800 years old: for it is written in that hand,*  
that



that began to be used in Charles the Great's time. I turned the MS. and found the passage was not there, but this was certainly the error or omission of the Copier.

The Doctour confidently affirms, that the Copier, either out of error or negligence, had omitted that doubted passage; *There are three*, &c. which he found not in the ancient MS. at Zurich, and he gives this reason for it, because before the general Epistles in that MS. the Preface of St. Jerome is to be found, in which he says, that he was the more exact in that Translation, that so he might discover the fraud of the *Arians*, who had struck out that passage concerning the Trinity. But what's all this? Jerome says he was very exact, that he might discover the Cheat of the *Arians*; not that he had effectually done it; and, indeed, that want of this place fully satisfies us of the contrary. And, certainly, this opinion is much more rational than that of the Doctour, who supposes it was omitted by the

the



the error of the Copier. For it is very unlikely that he should be so stupid or negligent to leave out those very things upon whose account the Translation was chiefly undertaken, as the Preface would inform him: But there needs not much confutation, since our Authour obligingly himself has taken the pains to doe it. For he says, that in many other places he hath seen ancient MS. Bibles which have wanted that passage; though the same Preface of St. *Jerome* hath been prefixed to them. And first he mentions those of *Basil*. Take his very words, pag. 55. " There are two  
" Greek MSS. of the Epistles at *Basil* that seem to be about 500 years  
" old, in neither of which this passage is to be found: they have also  
" an ancient Latin Bible, which is about 800 years old, in which though  
" St. *Jerome's* Prologue is inserted, yet this Passage is wanting. Secondly, those at *Strasburg*: At *Strasburg*  
" I saw four very ancient MSS. of the  
" New Testament in Latin: three of  
" these

“ these seem to be about the time of  
“ *Charles* the Great, but the fourth  
“ seem'd to be much ancients, and  
“ may belong to the seventh Centu-  
“ ry: in it neither the Prologue nor  
“ the Place is extant, but it is added  
“ at the foot of the Page with ano-  
“ ther hand. In two of the other the  
“ Prologue is extant, but the Place  
“ is not: onely in one of them it is  
“ added in the margin.

Were so many Copiers therefore exact in every thing else, and did they, through negligence, fail in the Translation of this onely Passage; or, did they commit an error by joint consent? Nevertheless I do not say thus much to defend *Arianism*, which is not indeed my sentiment, but to shew the cunningness and malignity of our Authour, who (as many others have done) seems to oppose that Sect with such weak Arguments, on purpose to establish it the better.

XII.

*And with this I will finish my account* Pag. 56.  
of Zurich; the publick Library is very noble; the Hall in which it is placed is large and well contrived; there is a very handsome Cabinet of Medals, and so I will break off.

And thus, saith the Doctour, I will finish my account; and that you may believe him, he presently repeats it again; and so I will break off. Which truly is a great sign that our Authour hath laid aside much of his natural Pride and Haughtiness, for not being ignorant, that he hath often maintained falsities, he neither believes nor desires that any one should credit what he says, unless he twice repeat it. And indeed our worthy Oratour, by his flashes, hopes that his Tautology will be so much the more acceptable to his Readers, by how much they desire that pleasant thing which he promisseth.

## XIII.

Pag. 56. *But when I have gone so much farther, that I have gathered materials for another Letter of this Volume, you may look for a second Entertainment such as it is from your, &c.*

Our Authour would fain be thought to have written this Epistle at Zurich in the very hurry and disorder of his journey, and so the haste it was penn'd in might sufficiently excuse whatsoever error or mistake he was guilty of in it, or in any other of his following Epistles, which he would make us believe were composed under the same disadvantage; nor do we at all hinder his design, neither indeed is there any need for it, since our Authour is so extravagantly vain as to betray himself and in his own words detect his fallacy, and to tell us that he has often put the wrong name of the Place in the front of his Epistles.

Believe me, whatever specious Titles his Letters may carry, as Zurich,  
Mi-

*Milan, Florence, Rome, or the like, they were all composed at Amsterdam. But if you have a greater opinion of the Doctour than to suppose him guilty in any manner of such childish matters, give your self but the trouble to consult the 7, 54, 55, and 56. pages, and you cannot chuse but smile to hear him speak of the Affairs and Passages he saw at Venice, Rome and Florence, while he was yet among the Switzers. At Rome (he says, Pag. 7.) the Pope buys in all the Corn of the Patrimony, and he buys it at five Crowns their measure, and even that is slowly and ill paid, so that there was 800000 Crowns owing upon that score when I was at Rome. Pages 54, 55, 56. There is a MS. in St. Mark's Library in Venice, in three Languages, &c. and in a MS. Bible in the Library of St. Laurence at Florence, both St. Jerome's Preface and this Passage are extant, &c. At Strasburg I saw four very ancient MSS. &c. It seemed strange to me, and it is almost incredible that in the Vatican Library there are no ancient*



*Latin Bibles, where, above all other Places, they ought to be look'd for; but I saw none above 400 years old. The like you find in many other of his Epistles, which I here forbear to write.*

## XIV.

Pag. 61. *While they were under the Austrian and German yoke.*

Whosoever hath read our Authour's Book against Mr. *Varillas* his History of the Revolutions that have happen'd in *Europe* in matters of Religion cannot but know how much he plays the Fool with him, when he makes the Emperour and King of *Spain*, both which Titles were most happily united in the most August Prince *Charles* the Fifth, two quite different Persons, when that one can scarce refrain from smiling, when he sees that he himself falls under the same mistake; he makes two Nations of the *Austrians* and *Germans*, onely that he might the more aggravate the misery and calamities of the *Switzers*, at that time grievously



ly oppressed, and favour their cause, if he can persuade his Readers that they were vexed by two Nations at one time. Hence he argues sophistically of their subjection first to the *Austrians* and secondly to the *Germans*.

Neither can any think that he added to the *Austrian* the *German* Name, that he might distinguish them from the *Spanish* Line, when any one who is indifferently read in History, will sufficiently know that the division of the House of *Austria* in the Line of *Ferdinand* and *Charles*, and this called the *Spanish* Line, did not happen till a great many years after the *Switzers* had obtained their Liberty.

*The Argument of the second Letter from Milan, October the 1<sup>st</sup>.*

**I**N this Epistle there are many notable Passages concerning the *Grisons* or *Rhæti Alpini*, and the Bishop of *Coire*, who is their chief Magistrate: as also of the Liberty they are allow'd in all Matters both Sacred and Civil, onely with this Restriction, that each District or Territory are obliged to profess one onely Religion, either *Roman Catholick* or *Protestant*, to which if they won't agree, they are forced to depart from that Countrey. In the next place there is a very pleasant and accurate account of the neighbouring Places, which are in subjection to the *Grisons*, as *Valteline*, *Chavenne* and *Bormio*; but more particularly of the disturbances which have been caused by Religion, in all which the King of *Spain*, the King of *France*, and the Pope have mightily interessed themselves,

selves, and also of the pleasantness and  
 fertility of each Place. He says, that  
 those Towns of the *Switzers* that are  
 nigh the Lake *Carius*, (now called *Co-*  
*mo*) which were taken formerly from  
 the Dutchy of *Millaine*, differ much as  
 to the pleasantness of their situations,  
 but yet by reason of the easiness of  
 the Government they lie under and  
 the Liberty they enjoy, are become as  
 popular as any Places about all *Italy*  
 whatsoever. But, as for the Dutchy  
 of *Millaine* it self, although it comes  
 behind none for its situation, yet by  
 reason of the intolerable severity of  
 the Taxes is very much beggar'd and  
 reduc'd to a most miserable condition:  
 but, for all this, it abounds with state-  
 ly and magnificent Temples and Mo-  
 nasteries, to which belong many rare  
 consecrated Vessels of great worth.  
 He commends Furniture and other Con-  
 veniences of the Inns and Hospitals.  
 He takes notice that the *Ambrosian Li-*  
*brary*, founded by Cardinal *Fredrick*  
*Borromee* is furnish'd with an excel-  
 lent collection of Books. He also makes

mention of some particulars found in the MS. of *Ambrose* and of a certain Tract concerning the Sacrament. Hence he gathers that the Rites and Canons of the Mass are very new, for (says he) I could find no mention of any at all before the days of *Charles* the Great, not even in the *Vatican* itself, and therefore it is to be suspected they were suppress'd lest the alteration should ever come to be found out. He met with likewise a very old Book in the Library at *Milan* which is the Translation of *Josephus* by *Ruffinus*. In his postscript he tells you of a certain Maid whose name is *Walkier* (which he forgot to mention in his account of *Geneva*) who when she was a little Child, although she lost almost the sight of both her Eyes, yet understood a great many Arts and Sciences, and onely by feeling the Letters, which were carv'd out in wood, learnt very distinctly to write.

REFLEXIONS.

XV.

*And the Burning did not seem a* Pag.65.  
*month old.*

The Bishop of *Coire* (it seems) shew'd him some Relicks of *S. Emerita*, Sister to *Lucius*, who was burn'd there, amongst which there was a Piece of her Veil, but that he may the more manifestly detect the cheat; he says the Burning did not seem a month old. Certainly he must be a very wise Man who could so nicely distinguish.

If any curious Antiquaries should by chance find some ancient Urns, they need not be much troubled to find out the Antiquity of them; our ingenious Authour here would certainly be a great help to them, who with onely looking upon the Ashes would exactly tell them what age, what year, (and, indeed, I may say) in what month the Bodies were buried; and I don't doubt, but that with the same  
small

small trouble of casting his Eye upon them, he could faithfully tell whether they were Males or Females, Gentlemen or Plebeians, to the wonderful admiration of all Men. I could here tell a pleasant Story of a certain poor Peasant and a Gentleman, that bears almost as much sense as this of the Doctor, who walking together in a Church-yard, the Peasant, seeing a great heap of dead mens Skulls, ask'd the Gentleman, if he could distinguish between a Gentleman's skull and another Man's. O, yes says he, for the Gentlemens are clean and white, the common Peoples are black and nasty. It happen'd, that as they went on towards the City, the Peasant discry'd the heads of some Malefactours stuck up before the Gates, which, according to the custome were very white; whereupon the Peasant cry'd out, O Sir, look yonder; these are all Gentlemens Heads! But I shall forbear here to carry on my story lest it be said of me and my Authour, that too much learning has made us both mad.



XVI.

*The chief belonged to the Archdukes* Pag. 69.  
of Inspruck.

We know who the Archdukes of *Austria* are, but as for the Archdukes of *Inspruck*, neither any Politician or Historian has ever yet mentioned them. So that here we may learn how great the Profit of travelling is, especially that of the Doctour's, who has now at last made a Discovery of these Archdukes, who otherwise had forever remain'd in silence and obscurity. But here we must beg the favour of him to satisfy us a little more fully of the business, and (if he please) according to his usual ingenuity to give a Genealogy of them, and let his own Printer have the benefit of printing them. But till then let him pardon me, if I tell him he is much mistaken, when he does erect into an Arch-dutchy, with a more than Papal Authority, the plain City of *Inspruck*, which is one of those of the Country  
of

of Tyroll belonging to the Arch-Dukes  
of Austria.

## XVII.

Pag. 71. *Though it must be confess'd it was a little too rough and barbarous for the sex.*

The Doctour seems to have a more than ordinary kindness for the Female sex. In a certain Town of the *Grisons* (says he) which all the men for fear of the *Austrians*, their Enemies, had forsok, there were a great many Souldiers quartered, and supposing the Town having nothing in it but Women, they could receive no injury from them; but the Women resolved to let their Husbands see that they were capable of contriving and executing of a bold action (though indeed it was a little too rough and barbarous for the sex) they enter'd therefore into a Combination, to cut the Throats of all the Souldiers at one time. The Woman that propos'd this had four Souldiers in her House, and she, with her own hands,

hands, dispatched them all: Now that so bold an Action should be put in Execution by a Woman seems to our tender-hearted Authour but a little too rough. But we need not wonder if from so brave a Defence of the Female sex he gain'd nothing; since he who just now before seem'd to patronize the Deed, in his very next words brands it with the name of an unheard of Cruelty; *not one Souldier escaping to carry away the News of so unheard-of a rage.*

XVIII.

*The Papists of Quality endeavour much to keep their People in order, but they acknowledged to my self that the Protestants were much peaceabler than the Catholicks.* Pag. 74.

Here any one would think the Doctor spake of three Religions. He says the Papists told him *the Protestants were much more peaceable than the Catholicks.* In his History of the Reformation he often calls his own Church  
the

the Catholick; now if he means so here too, the sense of his words is this, The Protestants are much peaceabler than the Protestants. Truly a most ingenious Sentence, and in every respect becoming so worthy an Authour.

## XIX.

Pag. 78. *For this passes for a Maxime, That no Man must dye unless he confesseth himself guilty.*

Here our Authour, without any reason, makes a great Admiration, and takes notice of it as such a particular privilege, whereas it is so almost in all other Places in Germany, according to the Saxon Law.

## XX.

Pag. 82. *The French saw of what advantage it was to them not to let this Pass from Italy into Germany, fall into the hands of the Spaniards.*

Certain-

Certainly it must rather be the concern of the Republick of *Venice*, than the *French* to hinder the *Spaniards* from taking *Valteline*. For having *Tyrol* on one side, and the Dutchy of *Milan* on the other, the *Spaniards* would have an opportunity of joining Forces with his Imperial Majesty, and so would be able to put a stop to what supply soever might come from any other part to *Italy*, but especially to the Republick of *Venice*, which is almost surrounded by the Emperour and the King of *Spain*, which the *Grisons* are aware of, and knowing after what manner the Governour of *Milan* designed to treat with those of the *Valteline*, immediately sent to the *Venetians*, to desire their assistance, which thing gave certainly more troubles to the *Venetians* than all the strength and valour of the *Italians* was ever able to doe.

XXI.

This was supported by the Fuen-Pag. 80.  
tes.

This

This Fortrefs was built by a Count of the same name, who advised his King to take *Monaco*, *Final* and *Valtelline*, that he might with the more ease reduce all the Princes of *Italy* under his own Power. And that he himself might open the way to so great an Enterprize, he built his Castle just by the mouth of the River *Adda* ( the Doctour says, by the Lake of *Como* ) which was the cause of that long and terrible War of the *Grisons*.

## XXII.

Pag. 84. *Among the Grisons the Roman Law prevails, modified a little by their Customs. One that was a little particular, was executed when I was there. A Man that hath an Estate by his Wife, enjoys it after her death, as long as he continues a Widower; but when he marries again, he is bound to divide it among the Children that he hath by her.*

Here again the Doctour wonders at this particular Custome of the *Grisons*,



as he calls it, which notwithstanding  
is according to the *Saxon* Law.

## XXIII.

*They complained much to me of a* Pag. 86.  
*great Coldness in their People in the*  
*Matters of Religion.*

The Doctour cannot find in his heart to let even the *Grifons* themselves escape, notwithstanding the great love and affection he pretended to have for them a little before, but taxes them with Coldness in their Devotion, and says, that several of the Ministers of that Place complained to him of the same thing. But what would he say now, if I should accuse him of Calumny? Suppose I should produce a Witness against him that he himself must acknowledge to be a sufficient one. Why then, to say the truth, it is the Doctour himself, who (according to his usual Custome) in this Place is a Witness against himself. For but a little before, these very People whom he now finds so much fault with, he sets

F

forth

forth as a great example of Piety and Godliness. Take his very words; *It was matter of much Edification to see the great numbers both here, and all Switzerland over, that came every day to Prayers, both morning and evening.*

## XXIV.

Pag.87. *But it seems in all Common-wealths Inn-keepers think they have a right to exact upon Strangers, which one finds here as well as in Holland or Switzerland.*

But why should he say, that this happens onely in Common-wealths, when the same hard usage happens to Strangers almost in all Kingdoms, and particularly in *France*; where they ask you what comes next to their Tongues end, and think there is no such thing as Justice or Injustice in the matter, because they onely ask you: so that having dreined your Purse sufficiently, you may sleep very soundly, without the least fear of any farther damage. But this proceeds onely from the ignorance of the Language,  
for

for those that are thoroughly acquainted with it, before they make use of a thing, they ask the price of it, and in bargaining bid as much or as little as they please. And here you see the Doctour most unjustly accuses the Republick of that which was in reality the fault of his own Ignorance; for he himself has often confess'd, that he did not understand the Language of that Countrey.

XXV.

*Though it may seem the reverse of Pag. 60. what one ought to expect, since the richest Countrey of Europe is full of Beggars, and the Grisons, that are one of the poorest States, have no Beggars at all.*

Here again the Doctour's reasoning seems to be very dull, making such a wonderfull Admiration at such plain things, which are obvious even to common sense. For where's the wonder to see no Beggars in a very poor Village, where the Inhabitants being

accustom'd to poverty, earn their Bread by their daily labour, and by continual ploughing a barren Land, they at last make it in some small degree fruitfull. Neither can they expect any thing from their Neighbours who have scarcely a competency for themselves; so that you may as easily wrest *Hercules* his Club out of his hand, as a half-penny out of theirs. But on the other side; in a fruitfull Countrey where there is plenty of all things, the Inhabitants are too much given to Luxury, and therefore seldom or never work, trusting to the goodness of their Soil, which at first with a little Tillage is very fruitfull, till at length, being almost wholly neglected, it becomes barren, and deservedly frustrates the lazy expectation of the Owner. Then again, by reason of the great concourse of rich Men, who, partly because they can spare it, and partly out of vain-glory give great Alms, and so encourage the laziness of others, whose onely labour consists in composing some few words, by which they  
may

may move the pity, or, at least, the vanity of others. Hence it is we find so many rich Beggars in *England*, who, although their Purse is full, will not leave Begging, as if custome had made them take a delight therein.

XXVI.

One thing is also strange, that among the Grisons the rich Wine of Valteline, after it is carried three days journey, is sold cheaper than the Wines of other Countries, where it grows at the door. Pag. 90, 91.

The Doctour wonders again, why the *Valteline* Wine should sell for less abroad than it does at home. And indeed there would be some reason for admiration, but that he subjoins immediately after a very good reason; for (says he) here is no Custome to be paid: Therefore indeed that thing is not at all strange, since it is well known that the Custome of a Commodity often exceeds the Price it self.



## XXVII.

Pag. 99. *And the two Crowns in Francis the First and Charles the Fifth's time.*

Having, as long as he well durst, abused his most Christian Majesty, he thinks now to sooth him up with fair words, and begins here to flatter him after a most preposterous manner, by putting *Francis* the First, King of *France*, before *Charles* the Fifth, that most renowned and great Emperour; with the same Authority, I'll warrant you, as a little before, he would have chang'd a City in a County into an Arch-dukedom. Give me leave here to produce the words of a Countrey-man of his, I mean *Barclay*, in his *Icone Anim.* c. 7. *Nihil in Germanica Gente magnificentius quàm quòd nomen summi Imperii aquilamq; sibi habet tanquam Romanam Germania vicerit, & Provinciarum ultima, quæ Italico jugo accessit, jam sit sola in qua nomen atque reliquia Fortunæ Romanæ acquieverint. Tanti nominis sancta Majestas nulla sociorum*  
*Prin-*



*Principum æmulatione corrumpitur, Regesque quanquam viribus sæpè majores spontè Imperatorio culmini concedunt.*

XXVIII.

*The Dome (at Milan) hath nothing Pa. 105. to commend it of Architecture, it being built in a rude Gothick manner; but, for the vastness and richness of the building, it is equal to any in Italy, St. Peter's it self not excepted.*

How could the Doctour know this, when at the same time he was at Milan; he had never as yet seen St. Peter's: so that this confirms (what I before mentioned) viz. that he was rather among his Friends, the *Hollanders*, when he wrote these Letters. But perhaps we wrong the Doctour, by laying the fault of the Printer upon him, who, instead of dating these Letters from *Amsterdam* or *Rotterdam*, by mistake, or perhaps willingly, dated them from *Milan*. For we know it is a common thing there, among the Printers, when for a little gain they

print some scandalous Libel, never to put the true name of the Place in the Title-page.

## XXIX.

Pa.108. *The Hospital is indeed a Royal Building.*

How inconstant is our Authour's Judgment? and, in how high a manner is he either imprudent or worse? for in this place he either commends magnificent Buildings of Hospitals, which just now he so dispraised and despis'd, which is the part of an imprudent Man, or else he makes the words Royal and Despicable to bear the same signification, which none surely but a very impudent fellow would ever dare to doe.

## XXX.

Pa.115. *They have no Glass-windows, which is an effect of their Poverty.*

You'll find a great many great and rich Men in *Italy* who make use of  
Paper-

Paper-windows, because they think they give a truer and more constant light. Nay, the Doctour himself takes notice of this to be a sign of Poverty in *Florence* and *Milan*, forgetting how much a little before he had admired these very Cities for beauty and wealth. But this is an ill Custome our Authour hath got of calling at his pleasure the same People rich and poor, religious and irreligious; nor does he doubt of ever being blamed for it, so long as he can persuade his Readers he wrote these Letters whilst he was in the midst of his Travels.

*The*

*The Argument of the third Letter from Florence, Novem. the 5<sup>th</sup>.*

OUR Authour coming into the Countrey of the *Venetians* observes that it is better cultivated and peopled than any of the others that lye round about it, the Inhabitants living under a more mild and easie Government. Onely the City of *Padua* he excepts, which is indeed a very large City, but very thin of Inhabitants, by reason of the continual quarrels among them, which he takes notice to be very frequent throughout the whole Countrey of the *Venetians*, insomuch that they either cannot suppress so great a Calamity, or else it does not suit with the Profit and Advantage of the Senate so to doe. In *St. Anthony's Chapel* there is a Verse that he taxes with Blasphemy, viz.

*Exaudit, quos non audit & ipse Deus.*  
*St. Anthony* hears those that God will not.

not. He speaks also of many fine old Rarities in the City of *Venice*. He doth not much commend *St. Mark's Library*, all the Greek MSS. being modern. He went also to the Convent of the *Servitans*, but found *Father Paul* was not in so great esteem there as he is elsewhere, but he supposed all his memorials are preserved with great care in their Archives, and as they are of great importance, so they are become much controverted by the different relations that *Father Paul* and Cardinal *Pallavicini* have given the World of the matter; and that the onely way to put an end to all disputes in matter of fact is, to print the Originals themselves. He makes mention also of the enquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek Church*, occasioned by the famous Dispute between *Arnaud* and *Mr. Claude*. He gives a description of the Republick, and also of the office and dignity of a *Doge*; in like manner you have a relation of the Nobility and particular Families call'd the *Ducals*, and how they had their name from a certain Faction,

Faction, that was between these Families in the year 1450. a Combination being made at that time between those, to preserve the Dukedom still among them, which continued till the year 1620. He tells how that the *Venetian* Prelates have indeed a great Title, but very small Power, the Senate overruling them. The Priests of the City (says he) are created by the Votes of the People, and that not without much canvassing, and a publick railing at their Competitours. He takes notice also that the Clergy use as much Liberty as the Laity, of which even some of the Colleges of the Monasticks are guilty. The Power (says he) of the Inquisition is not so great as formerly, the Senators being now included, without whom they can exact nothing. That it is hard to distinguish the Protestants from the Papists that live at *Venice*, the Sacrament being carried to the Sick without any great Ceremony. He tells you also very plainly of the default of the Republick and Senate, and gives the reason why they



they so often confer the honour of Senators upon new Families, and how without making any probation of their deserts as they ought to have done formerly, they chose 70 new Families into the Senate at one time. He tells you many stories concerning the proceedings in the causes and Persons of the Nobility, and of the great power the Inquisitours have in case of Treason, and which in the opinion of the wisest Men is the preservative and safeguard of the publick honour and grandeur, although perhaps it may seem strange to Foreigners. From *Venice* our Author passes to *Ferrara* which he says has formerly been a very splendid and flourishing City, but now is become very destitute of Inhabitants, and miserable, as it happens in many other places which belong to the Pope, by reason of the intolerable Taxes that are imposed on the Inhabitants. Here (says he) they heap up all their Treasures in the Churches and Monasteries, as it was usual heretofore, out of Superstition, so now out of Ambition  
and

and womanish Pride. The Air also (he tells you) about *Ferrara* and *Campania* is very unhealthy, for want of People to cleanse the Ditches and standing Waters. *Bologna* (says he) is not so conveniently situated as some other Cities which are in the Pope's Dominions, yet it flourisheth, because the Inhabitants still retain great part of their publick Liberty. He says that the *Hebrew* Bible, which the Canons regular of *St. Salvator* have in possession, and which they believe was written by *Ezra's* own hand, does not contain the tenth part of the Ancient Testament. There is a very curious and exact meridional Line in Brass at *Saint Petrones*, which he highly commends, as also, among others, the Statue of the Popess *Johanna* in Brass, though the People of the Town say it's Pope *Nicholas* the Fourth. He allows that the new Church built by the great Duke, is a very stately and magnificent Building, but he seems to be much offended, that the Statues should be naked. He says there are a great many choice

MSS.

MSS. in St. *Laurence's* Library, and a very few printed Books; but for those he thinks the goodness makes a sufficient recompence: but that which pleased him most was, that the Library-keeper assured him, that there was lately found a famous Epistle of Saint *Chrysostome's* to *Cæsarius*, in *Greek*, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the MSS. of that Father's Books, of which they have a great many: but he complains that, upon search, he could not find them; and moreover says, that a very Learned Man told him, the Library-keeper was a very ignorant fellow; neither understood the *Greek* Tongue, nor was vers'd in Manuscripts. He adds also concerning *Tuscany*, that it is in as poor and miserable a condition as *Lombardy*, for as in *Lombardy*, they begg'd for the sake of St. *Anthony*, so in *Florence*, they all beg for the Souls which are in Purgatory, which desolation he makes to flow from nothing but the severity of the Taxes, the decay of Trade, and the vast un-

account-

accountable Charges they are at, in enriching their Covents and Monasteries. Yet on the other side, he says, in the Coast of *Genua* there are many Towns and Villages which, although they lye upon a very boisterous Sea, and are exposed to a great many Inconveniences, yet are very populous and wealthy, so that money goes for two *per Cent*.

## REFLEXIONS.

## XXXI.

Pa.125. *The Venetians have been willing to let the ancient quarrels that were in all those conquered Cities continue among them, (the Nobility.)*

All other Men that have not so superficially examined those Affairs as the Doctour here seems to have done, and do thoroughly understand the whole matter, say the quite contrary. Among the rest there is *Monsieur Amelot de la Hussaie*, who being Secretary to the *French* Ambassadour at *Venice*, was particularly acquainted with  
all

all the publick Affairs, as having made it his business and whole employment for several years, and has writ a very elegant Book concerning this Republick. Him therefore we will bring in to confute him in several places; for, I suppose, his words will carry a greater weight, when it is plain, that a Person who has been employed in publick affairs and negotiations, and that for many years, in that City of *Venice*, must needs understand better the constitution of that Common-wealth than a simple Minister, whose business is onely to be conversant about matters of another World, and that has lurked in that City but a fortnight. Now the words of *Monfieur Amelot*, in his Government of *Venice*, directly contradict these of our Authour. *As to the Nobility* (these are his words) *the Senate takes particular care to maintain them in unity, knowing well that animosity is dangerous in a Free State, (Periculosiores sunt inimicitie juxta Libertatem, Tac. de Morib. Germ.) and that division among the Governours has*

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been



*been the ruine of many a Common-wealth, witness the Revolution at Florence and Verone, that happened onely upon the quarrels and factions betwixt their principal Citizens. To prevent these ill Consequences, the Senate takes notice of the least difference betwixt the Nobility, and without expecting till the fire is kindled, it choaks it in its embers, and stops its progress by their vigilance and authority. He afterwards adds a great many Examples, of which this is one; A Gentleman of the Family Da Ponte threatning another call'd Canale, that he would prove the Pontes above the Canales; the other replying, but the Canales were before the Pontes, and the Pontes had never been but for the Canales. The Senate send them word, that they could choak up the Chanals and pull down the Bridges when they pleas'd.*

## XXXII.

Pa.127. *But the Venetians are so jealous of their Subjects understanding military*  
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matters, which may dispose them to a revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars. This jealousy is the true ground of that maxim, though another is pretended that is more plausible, which is their care of their own People, whom they study to preserve, and therefore they hire strangers, rather than expose their subjects.

Herein our Authour imitates *Tacitus*, who very often pries more curiously into the Secrets of Princes than a good Man ought, and sometimes puts a bad Interpretation upon Counsels that are of themselves fair enough. How pernicious this way of Writing is, and how unbecoming a Divine, there is no body but knows. For let them boast as much as they please of these political Oracles of *Tacitus*; yet, whether these cunning and sagacious guesses have done more hurt than good in Common-wealths, whether they rather increase mens prudence or their craft, to speak the most favourably of them, is yet in dispute.

## XXXIII.

Pa.129. *By the great Losses the Venetians have suffered in their Wars.*

But these are all now abundantly recompensed by their good success in the present War with the *Turks*, and by their taking away from them all the *Morea*, and many other strong places.

## XXXIV.

Pa.131. *It's true, it is all that this State hath.*

The Doctour says there is onely one Arsenal in all the *Venetian* Republick. But, with his leave, there are two more in the City it self in *St. Mark's* Palace, that the Nobles may have Arms, if by chance any tumult should be raised, while they are sitting in the great Council. 'Tis true indeed; they are not to be compared with that mentioned by the Authour, but yet they must not be looked on as none at all.

## XXXV.

XXXV.

*The Redemptore and the Salute are Pa. 132.  
two Noble Churches that are the effects  
of Vows, that the Senate made, when  
they were afflicted with the Plague. The  
latter is much the finer, it is to the Vir-  
gin, and the other is onely to our Savi-  
our; so naturally doth the devotion of  
that Church carry it higher for the  
Mother than the Son.*

How scurrilously doth he jest on  
our Saviour's name! He says there are  
two Churches at *Venice*, the one which  
is much the finer is to the Virgin, the  
other is onely to our Saviour. These  
words ( onely to our Saviour ) are so  
impious, that they make all good Men  
detest him. What? Must he, to play  
upon the Papists his Adversaries, pro-  
stitute *Christ's* sacred Name? And be-  
sides, he does them great wrong when  
he endeavours to prove by so frivolous  
and profane an Argument, that they  
honour the Virgin *Mary* more than  
*Christ* himself, which yet he destroys

by the words that follow in the Text.  
*It is true the Salute is later than the  
 other, so no wonder if the Architecture  
 and the Richness exceed that which is  
 more ancient.*

## XXXVI.

Pa.133.

*Father Paul.*

This is *Paul Sarpus*, who, under  
 the name of *Petrus Suavis*, wrote the  
 History of the Council of *Trent*, which  
*Jac. Augustus Thuanus* liked so well,  
 that he used to say, that he onely a-  
 mong all the modern Historians was  
 equal to any of the Ancients.

## XXXVII.

Pa.134.

*By the famous Dispute between Mr.  
 Arnould and Mr. Claude, & paulò post.  
 He added one thing, that though he  
 firmly believed Transubstantiation, he  
 did not think that they ( the Greeks )  
 believed it.*

And yet I saw at *Paris*, in the Li-  
 brary of the Abby of *S. Germain*, a MS.  
 Let-

Letter of the famous *Olearius*, which contradicts this opinion. For when he was Secretary of that famous Embassy of the Duke of *Holstein* to the King of *Persia* and to the great Duke of *Moscow*, he was desired by several Learned Men from *Paris*, when he came into *Moscow*, to enquire about this matter, because the *Greek* Religion was there professed, which he in his Answers promised to doe with all possible diligence. Now he plainly affirms that they stedfastly believe *Transubstantiation*. Neither ought we to call his credit into question, seeing it is clear he favours the *Lutherans*, and this makes more for the *Papists*; nor the honesty of the Owners of the Letters, for I know his hand very well, having before seen in *Holstein* the History of the whole Embassy written with his own hand.

XXXVIII.

*Her (Cornara Piscopia) Father had Pa. 136.  
ving entertained a Gondalier's daughter*  
G 4

ter so long that he had some Children by her, at last, for their sakes, married the Mother, and paid a considerable fine to save the forfeiture of Nobility, which her Children must have undergone by reason of the meanness of their Mothers birth.

The Doctour hath not understood this thing so well as he should have done. For he says that *John Baptista Cornaro Piscopia*, the Father of that Noble Maid *Cornara Piscopia*, paid a fine for marrying a Gondalier's daughter; which is false. For the Children he had by that Wife did *ipso facto* lose their Nobility; which their Father purchased for them, as the rest of the Plebeians do, during the War in *Candia*. And not for all them neither, but only for two Sons, as *Amelot* says, in his Government of *Venice*, C. II. Sect. I I. And here we may observe, that the *Venetians* detract nothing from their Nobility, except their Wives be of very mean extraction, for they may marry the daughters of their Citizens that are not Noble (as Secretaries of the State, Advocates, Notaries, Physicians,



ans, Merchants, and the like;) and indeed by this way the Nobles frequently repair their ruinous Estates; for none of the Plebeians, though never so rich refuse to marry their daughters to the Nobility, both for the honours and their securities sake. And from hence accrues no small profit to the Republick: for by such marriages many of the Nobility are enabled of themselves to bear the Charges of Embassies and other costly Offices. But those that without the consent of the great Council make such contracts, forfeit their Nobility.

XXXIX.

*By reason of the meanness of the Mothers birth the Cornara's carry it so high.* Pa. 136.

Here the Doctour's connexion is very ridiculous, for if you weigh the words well together with the adjoining, the meaning of them will appear to be this; That the *Cornara's* are so proud of their Mothers ignobility, that

that several Maids of that Family have turn'd Nuns, disdaining to change so noble a Name for any other; a noble Name for their ignobility. I know indeed this is not the Doctour's meaning; but he makes himself the more ridiculous in that he and his words cannot agree.

## XL.

Pa. 140. *It is indeed a wonder to see the dignity of the Duke so much courted.*

In this Place our Authour, if in any place else, not onely shamefully contradicts himself, but contradicts his contradiction also. He says here, its a wonder to see the dignity of the Duke so much courted by the *Venetian* Nobility. A little after, when he hath reckoned up all the inconveniences and burthens that he is obliged to bear, he adds; *that it is no strange thing to see some of the greatest families decline it.* In the following page he directly contradicts these words again: for there he expressly affirms, that

that the greatest part of the best families court this honour of Dukedom extremely. Who can bear such idle Praising.

XLI.

*All the family, if ever so numerous, Ibid. must retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is chosen out of it.*

Not all the Family out of which a Duke is chosen, is obliged to leave the Senate, as the Doctour says, but only the Brothers and Children of the Duke. And they indeed are excluded likewise from all the chief Offices of the State as long as the Duke lives. They cannot be Members of the College, nor of the Council of Ten, nor Assessours at the Bench in criminal Matters: they must not seek Bishopricks, Abbies nor other Preferment in the Pope's disposal; nay, they must not take any though offered. So in the year 1622. Cardinal *Mathias Prioli* refused the Bishoprick of *Bergamo* profered him by the Pope, while his  
Father

Duke *Anthony* was yet alive. So *Frederick Cornaro*, in the same manner, refused the Rich Bishoprick of *Padua*, though the Pope was very angry, and earnestly advised him to take it, though contrary to the Laws of his Countrey. And this indeed is the true reason why so many Families decline the Dukedom. Mr. *Amelot*, in the forementioned Book, truly and elegantly applies that saying of *Antoninus Pius*, when he was made Emperour, to the Duke of *Venice*; *Postquam ad Imperium transivimus, etiam quæ habuimus perdidimus*. But they that refuse the Dukedom, when proffered them are sent into Banishment, and their Goods are seized. So they made Dukes, against their will, *Andrew Contarinus* in the *Ligustick War*, *Marcus Antonius Trevisanus*, in the last Century; and in our days *Franciscus Cornaro*, who as they say eight days after the Election died of Anger. See *Monsieur Amelot* in his Government of *Venice*, p. 124.

XLII.

*It has been a sort of Maxime now for some time not to chuse a married man to be Duke, for the Coronation of a Dutcheſs goes high, and hath coſt above a hundred thouſand Ducats.*

The Doctour idly ſays, that the Venetians do not uſe to chuse married Men into the Dukedom, becauſe of the great expences at the Coronation of a Dutcheſs; for in the *interregnum*, after *Marinus Grimanus*, the Inquiſitours made a Decree, that thence forward the Dutcheſſes ſhould not be crowned nor ſo much as be called Princeſſes, but onely be accounted the chief Women in the Republick.

XLIII.

*It is fit that onely one of a family ſhould marry, &c. By this means the younger Brothers, that have appointments for life, and that have no families that come from them, are not ſtirred up by any ambition, &c.*

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He taxes the *Venetians*, and assigns it as a great cause of their Vices, that usually the eldest Brother onely marries. But 'tis well known that the Senate always opposed it, especially upon this account, lest particular persons should become too potent, and for this reason compelled once three brothers of the *Cornara's* to marry, under pain of banishment and confiscation of their goods. What he says of the younger brothers neglecting their honour and repute, because of their want of Children, is very ridiculous. For those that he called younger brothers, he should have called them the elder; seeing it's plain that the youngest of all commonly marries; these are Mr. *Amelot's* words, page 25. Nor does this way of partage or division hinder the greatness of their Families, seeing for the most part all the brothers live together, and but one of them marries, and that is commonly the youngest, for whom the other are contented to scrape and to spare, especially if he be a Man of compliance.



XLIV.

*And an Italian that knew the World Pa. 150*  
well said upon this matter a very notable thing to me, he said, that they could have none of those domestick entertainments of wit, conversation and friendship, that the French or English have at home.

What then do the *French* and *English* onely enjoy those entertainments of wit and friendship, and do all other Nations live in a clownish solitude?

What, not to take notice of any other People, doth he think of that honourable and exquisite accomplish'd Nation the *Germans*? Although in some places they retain their severe way of living, and that too not without credit, yet in most of the Cities, especially in those where any Princes keep their Courts, their behaviour is so obliging and free, so well tempered with mirth and gravity, they are so kind and officious in serving even strangers, that even there you may hear  
many

many complaining, who in vain admire the plainness of their old behaviour, and think that the sincerity which all times was thought proper to them, was trodden under foot. But to return to our Authour; he speaks not these words, we dispute against, himself, but he heard them of an *Italian*, and for that very reason, the less credit is to be given to them. For, I hope, he will pardon me, if, since I have so oft took him tardy already, I suspend my belief a little longer, till he bring better proof of what he says. We know that the *Italians* admire the *Germans* above all other Nations, and have them in such esteem that their Princes think it their greatest honour to be thought to be descended from them, *Cl. Rhetius, in Instrum. Juris publici, lib. I. tit. II.* I my self have heard an *Italian* Nobleman at *Amsterdam*, and one that had seen many Countreys, wish, that if any greater Liberty might be introduced into their conversation, it might be that of the *Germans*, who speak fairly, yet without any deceit; that it would  
be

be an unspeakable advantage to their Countrey, where they are so much afraid one of another, that the surest way of discerning their Enemies was, by their proffers of kindness.

XLV.

*But this leads me to say a little to you Pa. 159.*  
*of that part of this constitution which is so much censured by strangers, but is really both the greatest glory and the chief security of this Republick, which is the unlimited Power of the Inquisitours.*

The Doctour says, that both the security and greatest glory of the *Venetian* State consists in the unlimited Power of the Inquisitours. Most indeed agree in the former, but they who look more narrowly into this Republick will deny the latter. And if we take notice of several customs of that Court as they are reckoned up by *Monf. Amelot*, and which have now the force of Laws, we may easily perceive that this opinion is as foolish as it is new. And first they hold, That

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no Crimes committed against the State must be pardoned, that even those that appear to be such must be punished. That the punishment ought to precede the Tryal. That in affairs of this nature shadows must be embraced for the things themselves, and possibility for reality. That it is not enough for a prudent man to prevent things, but he must also hinder a possibility of their being done. That they must prevent the danger they fear by endamaging them who were the cause of their fear, before they see the effects of their Crime, for there could be no greater Crime than to be suspected by the Prince, and disturb his quiet. That if in other affairs it be discretion to imagine the ill consequences less than they will be; in matters of State and things that concern the publick welfare it is not onely prudent but necessary to imagine them greater. That they need not regard any injustice done to a private Man, if thereby any profit redound to the publick, because as they say,

say, no Government can be so just, but that some body may be wronged by it. To which we may add another axiom of theirs no less pernicious, to wit: that it is a great prudence to remove him out of the way, whom by a just suspicion they have alienated from them, for that the wrong done him will excite him to revenge; nay, that the fear of future injuries will make him provide for his own safety though by the destruction of the Government. *Mons. Amelot*, after he hath reckoned up these Axioms of theirs, says farther, that the severity of the Council of ten is so great, that there is scarce a noble family in the Republick but produces instances of it, and many of them written in Bloud. And if we do not see so many noble persons now as formerly hanged up between *St. Mark's Pillars*, we must not attribute it to their Clemency, but to a new way they have got of sending them out of the World privately, to salve forsooth the repute of the Nobility; nay, sometimes they drown



them by night in the Orsan Canale. And these secret punishments they inflict far oftner than they should doe; for if any of the Nobles be mist, of a sudden, they know where he is gone. They observe this method to sooth the Parents and Friends of the deceased, as if they did it onely to prevent the infamy which might redound to them by his punishment. Though, to speak the Truth, they use this caution onely when the crime is not so clear; for when that is manifest, omitting these formalities, the person guilty runs through all the forms of Justice, and is solemnly led to the Gallows. There is no man's life so exactly conformable with the Rule of Justice, but they will animadvert upon it, and that frequently, onely for omissions. These and far greater severities you may read of in the forementioned Book of the Government of *Venice*, page 156, 157, and 158. which I shall not here take notice of, because, from what is already said, the absurdity of the Doctor is manifest, and I have no mind to



to asperse so famous a Republick. Now I do not believe that the Doctor intends to make use of this argument to support his opinion, viz. That that which conduces to the safety of a State, is its greatest glory, seeing in publick affairs the contrary daily appears. For although such things that should be thought to conduce to the publick welfare, and were not of themselves lawfull, would not render the State infamous, yet it doth not follow that they would encrease its glory. From this Spring arises that Axiom of *Machiavel*, who advises his Prince, *nè aliquando bonus sit*, not to be good at sometimes, for which he is so severely lash'd by *Anton. Possevin.* in *Judicio suo de quatuor Scriptoribus*, writ at the Command of Pope Innocent IX. by *Innocent. Gentilletus* in *Antimachiav.* by *Thomas Bozius*, in his Book *de Imperio Virtutis*, by *Petrus Riba de Neira* in *Principe Christ.* by *Hieronymus Osorius de Nobilitat. Christian.* by *Stephanus Junius Brutus*, (whom some think to be *Hottoman*,

others *Mornæus*) in *lib. de Jure Subd. advers. Tyrannos*; and by several other Patchers up of these devilish Principles, as they call them, of *Machiavel*, some of which never read him, the rest never understood him aright. *Machiavel* indeed would not have his Prince to be good, but neither would he have him bad; neither would he have him always so, but onely when the state of affairs necessarily require it, he should neither be good nor bad, but neuter. For so private Men when they are at the Bar, in Council, walking, or at any other exercise, forbear saying their Prayers or singing Psalms, because the nature of the time and place are not proper for these Exercises; yet although they be not at that time accounted pious, yet neither are they profane, but onely neuter. And a Prince likewise is looked upon as neuter, or not good, by those who looking no farther than his outward circumstances, cannot penetrate into the inner state of his affairs, whereas he still retains his goodness, which yet  
interi-

inferiour People are not able to discern. *Becman* in his *Polit. Paral. cap. 1, & 6.* prolixly treats on this question, where he excellently handles the nature of dispensation.

XLVI.

*Inquisitours.*

Pa. 159.

The Doctor very often confounds the Inquisitours with the Council of ten, whereas of the three Inquisitours, onely two are chosen out of that Council, the other out of the Councellours of the College. Besides, in one place he says, the power of the Inquisitours is limited, as page 145. by a Clause when they received the Inquisition which seemed of no great consequence, they have made it to become a Court absolutely subject to them; for, it being provided that the Inquisitours should doe nothing but in the presence of such as should be deputed by the Senate to be the Witnesses of their proceedings, those Deputies either will not come, but when they

*think fit, or will not stay longer than they are pleased with their proceedings; so that either their absence or their withdrawing dissolves the Court. In another, that it is unlimited, as page 159. But this leads me to say a little to you of that part of this Constitution which is so much censured by strangers; but is really both the greatest glory and the chief security of this Republick; which is the unlimited power of the Inquisitours; and all this without any distinction of Names, whereas by the latter he means the Inquisitours of the State, by the former, the Ecclesiastical Inquisitours.*

## XLVII.

*Pa. 159. The Inquisitours may search the Duke's Papers, make his Process, and in conclusion put him to death, without being bound to give an account of their Proceedings, except to the Council of Ten.*

*He says, the Inquisitours may put the Duke to death, and that they are not*

not obliged to give an account of their proceedings to any but the Council of Ten. But they are not obliged to give any account, no not to them, to whom they onely have recourse when they cannot agree. *Vide Amelot*, in his Government of *Venice*.

XLVIII.

*It is not to be denied, that upon some Pa.160. occasions they may have been a little too sudden, particularly in the known story of Foscarini.*

Of this *Foscarini* Mr. *Amelot* writes thus; *Anthony Foscarini*, a Senatour was dispatched by the Inquisitours in the space of six hours, so that the people sooner heard of his death than his imprisonment. A most remarkable Example of Envy in this State, in which a great name is look'd upon as a bad one, and often proves the cause of great danger. For this *Foscarini* was afterwards acquitted, and the Accusation of Treason brought against him, found false after his death. And yet



yet the Doctour is so far from thinking the death of this so innocent, nay deserving, a man, so unjust as utterly to condemn it, that he onely says it was a little too hasty. Which ridiculous way of talking is too familiar with our Authour. So page 71. where he is speaking of the *Helvetian* Women that slew all the Souldiers in one night, and taking particular notice of one that kill'd four of them with her own hands; he adds, *Though it must be confessed it was a little too rough for the sex.* So again, page 53. when he is for disputing on that Text of Scripture, *There are three, &c.* In the beginning he doubts, and says, *for it might seem a little too learned:* and so in many other places. So that he must needs confess that he uses this a little too much, a little too much.

## XLIX.

Pa. 162. *Nor could I give credit to that which a Person of great eminence there assured me, that there was a Prisoner general,*  
that



that had a Salary, and was imposed by the Inquisitors to dispatch those, against whom a publick Proceeding would make too great a noise.

But the truth of this matter is abundantly manifest from the preceding testimonies of Mr. Amelot. But the Doctour will not acknowledge it, as being one that will not give any credit to them, who know it by experience. And indeed the Doctours faith is very foolish and simple, that thinks nothing true that he cannot believe, that is, to speak the most favourably of him, what he thinks unjust. For although this might be pardoned in a Divine, yet in a Politician, and the Doctour thinks himself here to be no mean one; it is very ridiculous. For although we could not believe that any injustice can be done in this excellent Republick, yet a great many things seem at least to be unjust, though perhaps, if we look more nearly into the affairs of the State, we may find them to be just enough. Hence it is that prudent Men, and they

they that are not unskilled in State affairs, give their Judgment of the Justice of a Cause, by the Proceedings of the Judges in it, not of the Justice of the Judges by the appearance of the Cause. But I could easily pardon this seeming goodness of the Doctour; if he had not said, that this that he cannot believe, he heard of a Person of great eminence, and one that proved his words by many and great testimonies, ( I could almost guess he means the Embassadour of *France* at *Venice*.)

For whom can he blame now for calling his credit every where into question, and believing, that he who is of a meaner quality may be subject to malice or stupidity, from which he will not allow so eminent a Person to be free?

L.

Pa.164. *And the Poverty of the Place appears signally in the Churches, which are mean, and poorly adorned, for the superstition of Italy is so ravenous, and makes such a progress in this age, that*

one

*one may justly take the measures of the wealth of any place from the Churches.*

Our Authour says, that we may judge of the Riches of the *Italians* by their Churches, by reason of their great Superstition. A fine and easie method indeed to discover the riches and strength of a Kingdom, and to which all Travellers should be strictly tied, if it did not often deceive, and the Doctour himself had not just before unluckily destroyed it. For (he says) the Inhabitants of *Milan* are reduced to such Poverty as can scarce be believed, yet he highly admires the richness and magnificence of their Churches; and he says, that all over *Milan* there may be observed a like Poverty in the Inhabitants and Wealth in their Churches. His words are these, page 115. *The people here are reduced to a poverty that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the Wealth that is in their Churches, and this is going on so constantly in Milan, that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast a Treasure can be found, but Purgatory*

*Reflexions upon  
gatory is a fond not easily exhausted.*

## LI.

Pa. 174. *But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent took up more of my time than all the other Curiosities of Florence.*

The Doctour here highly commends the Famous Library at *Florence*, he admires many famous MSS therein which Pope *Clement* the Eighth gave to his Countrey; nay, he admires several printed Books therein which are as scarce and valuable as MSS. Who is there that reads these words, that does not easily perceive how wrongfully he has aspersed the *Italians* in his preceding Letter? For therein he gives this Judgment of all the Libraries in *Italy*: *The Libraries* (says he, page 9.) *not onely here, but all Italy over are scandalous things; the Room is often fine and richly adorned, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worse chosen.* How unworthy and unfitting an honest and prudent man are these words?

words? But this Calumny of his he himself takes off; not here onely, but in several other Places. For in the City of *Milan* it self he praises the *Ambrosian* Library which was founded by Cardinal *Frederick Borromee*, for a curious *Musæum* and a good Collection of Books, page 111. At *Naples* he extolls the Library of *Joseph Valletta* in which, he says, there is a vast Collection of very choice Books, page 196, and 197. Not to speak any thing of the *Vatican* Library at *Rome* which he strangely admires; when he says, that the House indeed is very stately, but that which is contained therein far more and strangely affects the Eyes of the Beholders, page 226.

In the same manner he overturns what he said before, that in *Italy* there are no famous and extraordinarily learned Men; for he himself in his following Letters reckons up a great many whom he highly commends. He commends, page 125. *Patinus*, who dwelt at *Vinzenza* for a famous Antiquary. And in another Place he calls  
Ma-

*Malaphigi*, a very famous Man, and the glory of *Bononia*, page 170. In the same Place he admires a work of the famous Astronomer *Cassini*. He calls *Maliabecchi*, the great Duke of *Florence's* Library-keeper, a noted Man. In the very place he takes notice of a very eminent Man who far exceeded that proportion of Learning which may be expected to be found in *Italy*. At *Naples* he commends one *Franciscus Andria* for a famous Lawyer, and another Nephew of the great *Alciat* he calls a curious and learned Man. In the same place he makes mention of one *Rinaldus*, a very famous Preacher and well accomplished Man. At *Rome*, he says, there are so many famous and learned Men, that he had not time enough to reckon them; yet he takes notice of some that were very famous, as *Bellorius* for his skill in the *Greek* Tongue, in the *Ægyptian* Antiquities, and other Learning; *Fabrettus* for his skill in the old *Roman* Architecture; *Faber*, a *Jesuite*, for Philosophy, Mathematicks and Ecclesiastical History; and



and the Abbat *Nazari* for his universal knowledge.

Now *Rome* was scarce in *Augustus* his time furnished with so many famous men at once, when it produced the most famous and greatest Wits.

LII.

*I could not build on what an ignorant Pa. 175.  
Library-keeper had told me.*

He brands the Library-keeper of the *Florence* Library, with the Title of Ignorant, though he seems a Man of no contemptible learning, in that he gave him account of the famous Epistle of *St. Chrysostome* to *Cæsarius* in a *Greek MS.* This shews a base and disingenuous temper in the Doctor: for to wave the injustice of so hard a Character; the ingratitude is not to be excused, especially to a Person whom he confesses himself was very obliging to him.

## LIII.

Pa. 176. *But as one goes over Tuscany it appears so depopulated, that one cannot but wonder to find a Countrey, that hath been a scene of so much action and so many Wars, now so forsaken and so poor, and that in many places the soil is quite neglected for want of hands to cultivate it.*

Here he argues against the common sense of mankind, when he wonders to find a Countrey that hath been a scene of so much action and so many Wars now so forsaken and so poor, for Wars are the neverfailing causes of Poverty and Desolation. At this rate one might wonder to find a Man sick and quite spent by his former Luxury, not able to get down one drop of drink, who formerly could have emptied whole Gallons. Who wonders that *Podolia* and the *Ukraine*, the most fertile Province of *Europe*, lye barren and without Inhabitants, who considers how often their fields have run  
with

with blood, and all the natives forced to fly, who preferred their lives and safeties before their Countrey.

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*The Argument of the fourth Epistle from Rome, December, the 8<sup>th</sup>. 1685.*

IN this he takes notice again of the great Poverty of *Tuscany* and the Pope's Territories, which were once flourishing Provinces, but now, being under the Pope, lye almost desolate, as well for the Causes aforementioned, as for the short time of the Pope's Government, the disadvantage of which he here reckons: they may be better read in the Book than here. He highly commends the Viceroy of *Naples*, the Marquess of *Carpio*, the Son of that famous Minister of State *Lewis de Haro*. He says that he by his industry and justice doth well provide for these afflicted Provinces. Among

the rest he takes notice of this notable device of his to buy in all the debased money at the same price that it went at. He says that the Poverty of the Plebeians in the Kingdom of *Naples* is almost incredible, insomuch that the Husbandmen, though they live in a very fruitfull Countrey, are so cruelly exhausted, that several of them dye for hunger; and that all the advantage of their Traffick is devolved upon foreign Nations. That in several parts of the Countrey half of the Possessions and Revenues are bestowed upon the Ecclesiasticks, who are no less cruel to them than their other Lords. But that in the Churches and the Hospitals at *Naples*, there is such a vast number of Silver vessels, that they may be valued at eight Millions. He mentions a privilege that the Monasteries have of buying the Houses adjoining on all sides of them, by which means they may buy almost in every Street: Which they may the more easily doe, because they must pay no more to the Owners of them, than they

they themselves paid. He says, that the study of the *Greek Tongue* begins to flourish again in *Naples*, and commends the industry of *Joseph Valletta* in promoting Learning, and likewise his famous Library. But, he says, that those learned Men who have constituted a kind of Society among themselves, are reputed by the Clergy (who are for the most part unlearned) *Atheists*. He says, that the number of the *Mollinists* in this City are said to be 2000. He tells his opinion, and how vehemently he is resisted by the *Jesuits*; yet, he says, there are some who think that the Pope is not displeased with him, although he be kept in Prison. After that he describes the *Neapolitan Catacombs* which are without the City, and wonders that they are not mentioned by any Writer. Hereupon he takes occasion to speak of the *Roman Catacombs*, and explains certain *Greek Letters* which he observed in them. I. C. X. O. under which was written *ving*, he reads them thus, *In 1889, 2019, X 1508, ving, Jesus our Sa-*  
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viour,

*viour who is Christ and God overcometh.* Thence he takes occasion to dispute about these Catacombs, out of which the Pope takes the bodies of the Saints which they give at *Rome*, where he gives his reasons why these should be rather Heathen Sepulchres, seeing the custome of burning dead bodies was almost out of use at *Rome*, before the Emperours were Christian, which he proves by the testimony of ancient and modern Writers. His observations of the shore of *Campania*, which was once very flourishing and is now almost desert, of *Rome* it self, of *St. Peter's* Church, of the Noblemens Palaces, and of several other Structures, are not contemptible, but we must pass them over. He commends the *Vatican* Library, and takes notice of the controversie betwixt two famous Men *Schellstrate* and *Maimburg*, concerning the Acts of the Council of *Constance*, and of a Discourse which our Authour had about this matter with the famous Keeper of that Library. Among the Learned Men of *Rome* he com-



commends *Bellorius*, the Jesuit *Faber*, the Abbat *Nazari*, as also Cardinal *d'Estre*, whose Civility and Learning he greatly commends, as having been a Friend and Scholar of *John Launoy*, for which reason, he says, he is reputed a famous Divine in the College of the Cardinals. He gives his judgment of the customs of the present Pope, and his testimony of his frugality and honesty. He speaks again of the extreme want of the *Romans*, which he assigns as the cause of the paucity of their Inhabitants; from the contrary cause of which, he says, proceeds the number of the *Helvetians*, which he farther confirms by the example of the Inhabitants of *Geneva*. Wherefore, he thinks, the fruitfulness of marriages is greatly promoted by plenty, and as much hindered by want. He speaks of the conversation and courtious behaviour of the *Romans*, and how hard it is to find any true friendship. He highly commends the Queen of *Swedeland*, *Christina*. He gratefully acknowledges the kind entertainment he received of the

*Jesuits* even of his own Nation, who yet were not ignorant how freely he had writ against their Religion. He speaks of two Nuns, who two years before changed their Sex, which relation was confirmed by the testimony of Cardinal *Howard*, whom he there commends. Upon this occasion he tells a Story of a Girle of *Geneva*, who being nursed by a deaf Woman had lost her Hearing, yet, by observing how others moved their Lips, had learned a kind of discourse.

## REFLEXIONS.

## LIV.

Pa.180. *But I intend to leave this place within a day or two, and go to Civita-vecchia.*

He says here, that within a day or two he intends to leave *Rome* (from whence he dated this Letter) and go to *Civita-vecchia*; and yet in the very next page of this same Letter he discourses at large of *Civita-vecchia* and its Territories as if he had already been

beent here; but I have before taken notice of this his way of Travelling.

LV.

*It is the greatest solecism in Government, for the Prince to be elective and yet absolute.* Pa. 182.

Here the Doctour shews himself again a very unskillfull Politician. The wisest Masters in that School would have told him, that Elective Monarchy is not to be compared with Hereditary, for this very reason, that it is not absolute. An Elective Prince is often times retarded by the slow debates and different Counsels of the Nobility, so that he loses the opportunity of Action, and cannot always use his fortune, when it fairly invites him. If this clog were removed, who can deny but that that Common-wealth is in fairer circumstances, that is not subject to the Childhood or imperfection of its Prince, but owes its government to mature choice and deliberation, and depends not solicitously upon the product

product of chance or fortune? And here it is vainly objected, that such Princes, invested with supreme Power, are apt to exhaust the wealth of their Subjects to enrich their Children and Posterity, that they may not be unable to maintain the state and quality befitting the Children of a King. But a good Prince will never doe this, and a bad one dare not, lest after his death his Subjects revenge it on his Family, and strip them of all their fortunes as well justly as unjustly gotten. On the contrary, an Hereditary Monarch that looks upon his Kingdom as his Patrimony, is ambitious to enlarge it, and seeing he cannot doe this without War, and War cannot be carried on without vast Expences, this exhausts and weakens a Nation, and is far more pernicious to the good and prosperity of the Subjects, than the charge they may be at to maintain the Pomp and Retinue of a few of the Royal Family. But we shall not dwell upon generals any longer, but consider this sort of Government in the Popedom, at which

which our Authour seems to be most incensed. It is known to all that have made any insight into the Papal constitution, that since the beginning of the World, there was never Government more wisely or cunningly contriv'd. And seeing to arrive at the triple Crown requires more than ordinary management, and the ends of that spiritual Empire far differ from all temporal ones, the grounds of its domination consisting in a weak and angry title, let us enquire upon what Foundations that Power which has continued so many years does chiefly rely, and we shall presently find, that they are nothing else but that which our wise Authour calls a Solecism, to wit, its being elective and absolute. And, for the first, Election here is highly necessary, considering the mischief and inconveniences that would necessarily follow if hereditary Government took place. For (that I may use the words of *Puffendorf* in his Introduction to History, c. 14.) where the Crown devolves from the Father to the Son,

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it often times lights upon an Infant or *Minor*. Now how could the Popedom support its Reputation and Authority if he who is God's Vice-gerent on Earth was but yet in his Swaddling-cloaths, or under the discretion of Tutors and Guardians? nor could so sacred and weighty an Office as that pretends to be, sit well on a young man's Shoulders who can scarcely be supposed to maintain the gravity of it; or if one or two might doe it, yet there would be no security for all. In a word, this hereditary Right would change the Papal Power into a pure secular dominion, which would not be able to bear the weight of so great a Title; besides, the very Ministers of that State would be always watchfull to the ruine of the present Pope, that they might have their Turns in the Government, who are now very obedient and obsequious to his commands, in hope of obtaining by Election the same Dignity. Again, if the Family should chance to be extinct, the heat and contention of the Pretenders in  
ad-



advancing themselves to the vacant Chair, might pull down and ruin the whole Structure. But, secondly, that this Power ought to be absolute plainly appears, in that otherwise it is impossible it should last; for if the form of *Aristocracy* or *Democracy* were admitted, how should so many different and various tempers and humours (as are found in the Court of *Rome*) be tyed up to such strict and peremptory Laws, but that at one time or other, discords, divisions and animosities, would dissolve the whole Fabrick of that Building? These and many other reasons you may find in *Puffendorf*, in his Introduction to History, cap. 12. sect. 31.

LVI.

*And an unsatiable desire of heaping up wealth, which is the Character of him that now reigns.* Pa. 184.

In the Prophecy of *Malachia* the present Pope *Innocent* the Ninth is called the insatiable Beast; many have taken

taken great pains to explain the words. Some refer them to the *Leopard* which is the Arms of the House of *Odeschalchi*, and will needs have it to be that Beast. Others produce that Text of Scripture ; *The zeal of thy House hath eaten me up*. They that would seem more witty than the rest, observe, that Cardinal *Cibo* is the Pope's great Favourite, and that he does nothing without him, and therefore their jest is, that the Pope must needs be an unsatiable creature, because he does nothing without *Cibo*, i. e. *Meat*. But our Authour hits the Nail on the Head ten times better. For he makes him the insatiable Beast, as never satisfied with Gold or Silver. But to pass by what he himself writes against this very censure, to wit, that the present Pope does not follow his Predecessours in heaping up honours and riches for his Family ; it is enough to confute this Character he has given by onely considering what prodigious summs of money he has freely sent to the Emperour, the *Pole*, and the *Venetians*, for the support of the present War, which has

has gained him the good opinion of most Protestants except the Doctour.

LVII.

*So the many vacant Caps occasion many empty Palaces.* Pa. 185.

Those Vacancies have been long since supplied as followeth. Prince *Rinaldo d'Estre*, Prince *Francisco Maria of Tuscany*, Monsignor *Ranucci* Nuncio in *France*, Monsignor *Palavicini* Nuncio in *Poland*, Monsignor *Durazzo* Nuncio in *Spain*: the Archbishop of *Salzburgh*, the Bishop of *Strasburgh*, the Bishop of *Grenoble*, the Bishop of *Salamanca*, the Bishop of *Como*, the Bishop of *Gieti*, the Bishop of *Gurk*, the Bishop of *Warmia*, the Inquisitour General of *Portugal*, the Arch-bishop of *Corfu*, Count *Colonitz* Bishop of *Raab*, Monsignor *Corfi*, Monsignor *Negroni*, Monsignor *Cavaglieri*, Monsignor *Astally*, Monsignor *Mattei* Auditor of the *Rota* and *Major domo* to the Pope, Monsignor *Debnhof*, *Commendatore* of *Santo Spirito*, Father *Aghirri* a *Benedictine*, Monsignor *de Angelis* Vicegerent, Mon-

Monfignor *Slufio* Secretary of the Briefs, Father *Coloredo della chiesa Nuova*, Don *Fortunato Caraffa*.

## LVIII.

Pa. 199. Upon this (Molino's) imprisonment, *Pasquin* said a pleasant thing.

He says that these have been the words :

*Si Parliamo in Galere ;  
Si Scrivemmi, impiccati,  
Si stamo in quiete, all sant officio,  
Etche bisogna fare.*

In the Text we read *fore*, for *fare*, but this without doubt is the fault of the Printer ; for we shall readily allow the Doctour to be Master of the *Italian* Language, as he is pleased to inform us ; nay , to the very Purity of the *Tuscan* Dialect. But I cannot pass over in silence, that this very *Pasquil* which the Doctour so ingenuously brings in as new and pat to his purpose ; I have unluckily found in a Book printed above a 100 years ago. The Title of the Book is this, *Pasquillorum Tomi II. Eleutheropoli, M. D. XLIII.*  
and

and it is in the University Library at Cambridge.

LIX.

*The Freshness of the colours shews Pa. 203.  
these could not have been done while  
this place was imployed for burying.*

In his discoursing about the Catacombs at *Naples*, he endeavours to destroy the received opinion of them, by some Pictures that are found within them. He says, that the liveliness and freshness of the Colours in those Pictures argues that they could not be drawn so long ago, as when these places were set a-part for burying places by the *Romans*. But I would fain know why? For if they were painted, as he believes, by the *Normans*, when they drove the *Saracens* out of *Italy*, which is above 600 years ago, I see not why they may not have lasted much longer; for seeing the colours in so many ages could not be defaced, I know not what time can be sufficient to doe it, especially if we

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consider



consider the thickness and moistness of the air in those places, which is so great, that he himself professes he was not able to continue long in them. Nay, we may conclude from the freshness of the Colours, that they could not be painted in those times, which our Authour assigns for them, for that Age was ignorant of the true Art of Painting and the excellent skill in preparing and mixing of Colours for beauty and lastingness, is among those inventions that were then lost.

To pass by that Inscription of the Cross, I. C. X. O. which being *Greek*, as he says, and artificial, yet he is so absurd as to ascribe it to the *Normans*, a rude People and altogether ignorant of Letters.

But let us see whether his own explanation of it be not wholly ridiculous, for of these four Letters I. C. X. O. he absolutely changes two of them C. into S. and O. into the *Greek* Θ. Now although we allow in some ancient Coins C. sometimes put for S. yet this is onely in initial Letters, not in such as are  
set



set down to determine Initials, for what absurdity is it to add one Letter to the Primary for the better understanding and quite change it. Yet this is our goodly Authour's guess, for he makes J. and C. *Jesus*, expounding the first Letter I. by an S. of his own making, and having put in a *Greek* Θ for an O, he reads the whole Inscription,

ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.

O wonderfull Critick and Searcher into Antiquities! But we'll suppose the thick Air of the Catacombs might make the Doctour a little dull.

Now that I may not onely seem to carp at his Interpretation, and produce nothing of my own; I will plainly set down, how I guess they are to be read, viz.

J. C. XΘ.

*Jesu Christo Crucifixo.*

The two first Letters are plain enough, and to write the word *Crux* by the Letter X is very ancient, and still in use, and the last Θ. is the termination. And let none object, that the word *ΙΗΣΟΥ* bears no coherence in the

Inscription thus interpreted, the former part being *Latin*, the latter *Greek*; for first, the *Latin* is on the top of the Cross, the *Greek* on the bottom. Secondly, had it been put thus, *Vincit*, it might have signified any thing that any man's fancy might have put on it, but *vix* determines its own signification, which was *Constantine's* Motto.

LX.

2a.208. *If Cornelius in that Letter speaks of the number of the Christians in excessive terms, and if Tertullian in his Apologetick hath also set out the numbers of the Christians of his time in a very high strain, that is onely to be ascribed to a pompous Eloquence.*

Is not this a strange piece of confidence and peculiar to Dr. Burnet alone, to pass his Censures so freely on two such great lights of the Church here mentioned, and blast the sincerity of their Writing with the reproach of high Strains and pompous Eloquence, let the primitive Fathers take heed how they

they fall into the hands of this universal Censurer. In the heat of his Travels he spares no body.

LXI.

*There is nothing more wonderfull in Pa. 22 Story, than to see so vast a State, that had so great a sense of Liberty, subdued by so brutal and so voluptuous a man as Anthony, and so raw a youth as Augustus.*

I wonder who in the name of confidence he would have to subdue Nations, if *Augustus* and *Anthony* will not please him. What fitter Persons than they if stoutness and the height of heroick courage could doe it? Indeed to preserve Empire other vertues are required, and were not wanting in them, for they were not both at once negligent, but took their Turns in the management of affairs. Whilst *Augustus* was young, *Anthony* was sober and circumspect and ordered the Government with great discretion. But when *Augustus* was grown up, and well vers'd

in business, the other returned to his pleasures, *Augustus* conniving at it, who was now grown weary of a Partner, yet was not *Anthony* at last so brutal and voluptuous a Man, but that it cost *Augustus* hard trouble to get rid of him.

## LXII.

1227. *For if Pope Martin, that approved this Decree, was infallible, then this Decree is good still; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was infallible.*

This puts me in mind of the famous Greek Story of the Dispute between the Master and Scholar, which the Doctour seems to have forgotten, but it was just after the same rate of arguing. The Scholar agreed with his Master to pay him the price of his Teaching, at the first cause he should carry at the Bar. The Master, after much pains taken, thinking his Scholar sufficiently instructed, demands his money, the Scholar denys the payment, and to Law they goe. The young Man

Man affirms, he is bound to pay nothing which side soever the cause goes; for, if he carry, he is to pay nothing by the Sentence of the Judge; and if he lose it, the bargain acquits him; for he was to pay onely when he overcame. Nay, says the Master, you lose it which way soever it goes; for, if I cast you, I recover by the Judge's sentence; but if you cast me, you must pay me according to our bargain. The Judge, who had listned attentively, said nothing but this; *Mali Corvi, malum ovum*: Ill Seeds bring ill weeds. Thus when our Authour argues with Mr. Maimbourg after this manner; *Either Pope Martin (who in the Council of Constance confirm'd this Decree, that Popes were subject to Councils) either he was infallible, or not: If infallible, then is this Decree beyond exception, because confirmed by him; if he was not infallible, then were none of his Predecessours so.* Who sees not but the force of this Argument may be retorted on him by the famous Schelstrate, thus; *Either the Pope is infallible, or*

*not. If he be not, then is there no strength added to this Decree; if he be, then also were all his Predecessours.*

## LXIII.

Pa.233. *Pope Sixtus who gave order to his Steward.*  
*Majordomo.*

## LXIV.

Ibid. *But his Government is severe, and his Subjects are ruined.*

I cannot see how he of all men can tax his Government as severe, and how his Subjects are ruined by him, who just before gives us this fair account of his administration, page 232. *There is at present a regularity in Rome that deserveth great commendation; for publick vices are not to be seen there. Not to mention the great Character he gives of his personal virtues, as wonderfull Sobriety and Strictness of Life. The great Poverty and general want of his Subjects*  
*may*



may be better ascribed to the covetousness and ambition of his Predecessors.

LXV.

*'For as Men and Women that are well Pa.233.  
cloathed and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual labour, and with the tearing anxieties that want brings with it, must be much more lively than those that are pressed with want, so it is very likely that the one must be much more disposed to propagate than the other.*

This is against the Judgment of the best and ablest Physicians, who all agree that those are the most prolifick part of mankind that are most inured to hard labours, and are forced by Poverty to temperance and sobriety: whilst such as abound in all things, leading a soft and easie life, corrupt the organs of generation, and are disabled to get many Children. An example of the first sort are the *Tartars*, to pass by the *Israelites*, who, wearied out under *Pharaoh* in an unmercifull bondage

dage, under the severest wants and hardest taskmasters, yet prodigiously encreased to the amazement of the *Ægyptians* who liv'd at ease and beheld it. Of as little moment is it what he speaks of the wonderfull fruitfulness of the *Switzers*, and comparisons with the *Italians*, as if the climate of each Countrey were not a sufficient solution of the inequality of the numbers therein produced. The *Italian* lives under a warm Sun; the *Swisse* in a cold and frozen Countrey. Now it is a Maxim grounded on experience, that the coldest Regions are the best Breeders.

## LXVI.

Pa.236. *I will not use her own word to myself, which was, that she now grew to be one of the antiquities of Rome.*

After his praises of the Queen of *Swedeland* he cannot let her pass without a fling at her; for what means this piece of Rhetorick, that he will not use her own words (which were spoke  
it

it seems to himself) and yet immediately he uses them. This is a very odd piece of respect to the Queen for her conversation and civility to him. But I vilely suspect there is something more in the wind, for this period is not right, or like a man that is quiet in his Passions.

LXVII.

*Her ( the Dutchess of Bracciano ) Pa.238.  
Court is the pleasantest assembly of  
strangers that is to be found in any of  
the Palaces of the Italians at Rome.*

You see here the Dutchess of *Bracciano* has quite robb'd the Queen of all the Praises and Encomiums that were so largely bestowed on her. For of the Queen he had but just said before; *And that Princess (the Queen of Swedeland) hath still in her drawing Room the best Court of Strangers.* With what Justice the Doctor divides himself between these great Ladys I know not, but will view him a little in the next Paragraph.

LXVIII.

## LXVIII.

Pa.237. *The Women here begin to be a little more conversable.*

The Doctour, it seems, in his Travels makes a little bold with the gravity of his Coat and Profession, and when Ladys are in company, he cannot but make some applications that way. Thus he discourses of the *Venetian* Women, the *Romans*, the *Germans*, and particularly the *Helvetians*, who it seems, as he tells us, are so complaisant as to take you by the hand, when they are saluted. I see the Doctour is a Wag. Of the same nature are his accounts of the Nunns, particularly her of *Strasbourg*, who lies down while a Monk has his hand under her Coat. Indeed out of modesty he tells us, he did not see it himself, but he is so solicitous of the credit of the Authour who related it to him, and takes such pains to shew that he was a person beyond all exceptions, and very exact in his observations of this nature, that a Man cannot

cannot chuse but smile at his earnestness and punctuality in this Affair; his words are these; *I confess I did not look for these things, for I had not heard of them; but my noble friend Mr. Ablancourt viewed them with great exactness, while he was the French King's Resident at Strasbourg, in the company of one of the Magistrates, that waited on him, and it is upon his credit, to which all that know his eminent sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this particular.*

LXIX.

*Who having ventured to go thither.* Pa. 224.

Certainly a bold adventure this, for Doctour Burnet to appear in Rome. Who would not think by these words that a new *Huss* was going to *Constance* or a *Luther* to *Worms*? The Ladys may perchance be mighty solicitous for him, but otherwise he may walk very securely. Especially if he gives the *Italians* so good words as he does in the following Paragraph.

LXX.

Pa.246. *And indeed the riches that one meets with in all places within doors in Italy.*

Did ever Man that put Pen to Paper to write, ever contradict himself so often and so palpably as our Author here does? A little before he so exposed the nakedness and poverty of the *Italian* Cities, that he had the face to affirm that the meanest and beggarliest Cities of his own Countrey, *Scotland*, made a better appearance. Thus of the City of *Viterbo* he writes, page 181. *And that wide Town which is of so great compass, hath yet so few Inhabitants, and those look so poor and miserable, that the meanest people in the ordinary Towns in Scotland, and in its worst places make a better appearance.* Page 164. he says thus of *Ferrara*: *We were much more amazed when we pass'd through that vast Town which by its extent shews what it was about an Age ago, and is now so much deserted, that there are whole sides of Streets without*



without Inhabitants, and the poverty of the place appears signally in the Churches. To pass by what he says of the Poverty of *Verona* and several other Towns in *Italy*.

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*The Argument of the fifth Letter dated at Nimegen, May the 20<sup>th</sup> 1686.*

After he hath spoken somewhat by way of Preface of *Marseilles*, a famous Mart-Town in *France*, and of other remarkable things in the Province of *Narbon*, he briefly takes notice of the great persecution that the Protestants have suffered in *France*, which was so much the greater (as he says with great grief) because whatever was done must be attributed to the Principles of the *Romish Church* and the endeavours of all the *French Clergy*, and to the innumerable Panegyrics in which it was celebrated by all sorts of Writers. Nevertheless he doth not deny, that there were of that Party

ty some moderate Men, who did not approve of these Proceedings, but that they were few, and such as durst not contradict them. That at *Rome* indeed there was no sign shewn of publick approbation and joy, but that that was caused rather by the resistance of the *Spanish* Faction, than of the Pope, for (he says) that he approved of all their Proceedings, neither were there any more than two Cardinals of the contrary opinion, as Cardinal *d'Estree* told him. That the things already done, ought not to be imputed so much to the King of *France* himself, as to his Religion. That we ought rather to be sorry that he was prejudiced against them by it, and so was drawn on to act conformably to its Principles. He says, that when he return'd from *France* to *Geneva*, finding a competent number of *English* Men there, with the Magistrates leave, he preached and perform'd the Divine Service according to the *English* Church in a certain house. That it pleased the Inhabitants of that City mightily, who were for-

ry that there should be so great difference between the *English* and *Helvetian* Churches about things of so small moment, which pertained onely to the outward form of Government and Ceremonies. He particularly commends two of their Ministers Mr. *Turretin* and Mr. *Tronchin*. He adjoins some other Observations that he made of *Switzerland* in his return from *Italy*. His opinion of some of *Holben's* draughts which he saw at *Basel*, and of their Library MSS, and Medals, is not contemptible. It is of more weight what he says of the State of that City, and of the strong Fortress which the *French* have lately made at *Hunningen*, near the City, for a Bridle to the whole Countrey. He describes the state of the City of *Strasburg*, and doth not disapprove the Ceremonies of the *Lutherans*, except their being covered at their singing of Psalms, and he thinks it somewhat unusual to doe reverence at the naming of the Holy Ghost, as of Christ. He says, They have free use of their Religion as was

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promised them ; but thinks they make no great Proficiency by the usual way of converting. Going down the *Rhine* he saw *Philippsburg*, *Spire* and the *Palatinate* of *Heidelberg*, which he briefly describes. He commends several orders by *Carolus Ludovicus*, the Elect. Palatine, and among others that, whereby he permits the Exercise of several Religions in one Church, called the Church of *Concord*. He no less commends the present Electour, especially on this account, that though he himself be very zealous in his own Religion ; yet he freely permits them of a contrary persuasion the exercise of theirs, which he proves by a remarkable instance. He greatly commends the pleasantness of that Countrey, as likewise of *Frankfort*, though not so pleasant as the former. He is sorry he did not see *Worms*, and in that the place where *Luther* offended *Eckius* so highly by defending God's cause, of which he says he was a very happy Instrument. He speaks of *Mentz* and of the Tract of ground that lyes along the

the *Rhine*, till it meets with the *Moselle*, as also of the City of *Bon*, and of the great quantity of Golden Medals coined like the old *Roman* money found there in the time of the last Siege. He speaks somewhat of *Coln*, *Dusseldorp* and some other Cities; and lastly, of *Nimegen*, a City of *Guedren*, where, in *May*, 1686. he wrote this last Epistle. He commends it for being the first Town that made resistance against the *French*, whereby it gave the rest of that Countrey time to recover themselves from the great Consternation they were in, and set their Affairs in better order. At the Description of *Holland*, he breaks off, and refers the Reader to the incomparable Book of *Sir William Temple* upon that Subject. He closes all with a great *Encomium* of the Prince of *Orange*.

## REFLEXIONS.

### LXXI.

*It cannot but seem strange to one that Pa. 262. views Morat, to imagine how it was pos-*

*fible for a Town so situated and so slightly fortified, to hold out against so powerfull a Prince, and so great an Army, that brought Cannon before it,*

*Morat* now is a Town of small strength, but in those times it was reckoned a considerable Garrison, before the art of mining and blowing up of Walls and Fortifications was come to any perfection, and therefore what he speaks of bringing Cannon before it is ridiculous, for all the Cannon that was brought was nothing, but Skins and Pasteboard.

## LXXII.

Ibid.

*My Lord* Advoyer d'Erlach.

In his former Letters he mentioned him onely by the Title of Mr. now, by his absolute Authority, he has created him a Lord. If he is really a Lord, he wanted manners before; if he be not, he basely flatters him.

## LXXIII.



LXXIII.

*The Lutheran Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief Passages of our Saviour's Life are represented: but there is no sort of Religious respect paid them.* Pa.273.

Here you may see the Vanity of the Man, and what slender opinion he has of the Capacities of all Mankind besides himself. He informs his Reader of the Faith and Rites of the *Lutheran Church*, as if it was as new to them as the Stories of *Prester John's* Dominions. He says, the *Lutheran Churches* are full of Pictures, it is very well, what then? but none, says he, does worship them, nor give them any religious honour, and is there any Child does not know all this?

LXXIV.

*One of the Prebendaries to whom I addressed my self, being, according to the German custome, a man of greater Quality than Learning.* Pa.280.

Is not this a piece of intolerable sauciness to reflect so boldly on the whole *German* Nation, the greatest and most noble part of *Europe*; A Nation furnished above all others with all sorts of Arts and Literatures. He says, (If you will believe him) that you will find there men of greater Quality than Learning: But how great an untruth is this? for, not to speak of the great number of Noble-mens Children that, in the Universities of *Germany* (which hath more such Seminaries than all the rest of *Europe* put together) do make such great progress, that, before they come to the Age of twenty years do readily argue upon all the Points of Philosophy and other liberal Arts, to the Admiration of all their Hearers; an Instance whereof the University of *Frankfort* affords in the Illustrious Baron of *Frise*, and many others in many other places. I say, not to speak any thing of that, who that has but the least knowledge of *Germany*, could not reckon up hundreds of Persons of the highest rank and beyond others in honour,

honour, but more eminent in Learning. For, I my self, though I have travelled over but a small part of *Germany*, yet surely over more than ever our Authour saw, have notwithstanding met with numbers of this Character. The name of *Puffendorf* is so famous for his many voluminous Writings, that it may contend for the Laurell with the most famous in all *Europe*: And yet this great Man doth freely yield to his Brother, the renowned Chancellour of *Stade*. Who is there, that doth not admire the universal and great Learning of Chancellour *Seckendorf*. Monsieur *Grot*, the Duke of *Hanover's* Councellour of his Privy-chamber, is most famous, as for his great experience in publick Affairs, so especially for all sorts of Erudition. And how many famous Men, most exalted for their Learning and Nobility, may one find in the Court of the most potent Prince *Frederick William*, Electour of *Brandenburg*, for I speak not of others having onely seen these? Nay, there is in *Germany* such respect

paid to Learning, that, even among Princes of the sacred *Roman* Empire, you may find most accomplish'd Sons of the Muses, who, if they had been born private Persons, would yet have been Princes among the Learned. And among those we may justly reckon the most serene Prince *Rudolph Augustus*, Duke of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*, whose knowledge, as of all other good Arts, so especially of Divinity, is great, wonderfull, glorious, nay, all divine; These are the words of *Dr. Kortholt*, the most famous Divine in *Holstein*, concerning him; *Interim tacere hic non possum in eo Augustum, Sereniss. Augustum Rudolphum, exactè referre, quod sublimi constitutus loco, nataliumque splendore fulgens, sapientiæ studium infra suum illud fastigium nequaquam aestimet; imò, non unius Augusti, sed Philippi insuper Macedonis, Alexandri M. Antonini, aliorumque Heroum indolem hoc ipso illum exprimere, quibus tametsi aliis fuissent artibus destituti, vel sola literarum admiratio, inque viros eruditione potentes benevolentia*

*lencia immortalem nominis gloriam peperisset. Quin his omnibus eo illum illustriorem facit doctrina sua, quo exulta ab illis humana præstantior est, in quam ille omni studio incumbit, divina sapientia.* In Libr. de variis Script. Edit. Nor even in the Critical part of study, which being small advantage to civil Life, and is not necessary to one busied in publick Affairs, are there wanting, whom you cannot enough admire or commend. For (lest here also I should channel forth into other parts of *Germany*, which I my self have not seen) who knows not the name of *Gudius*, one of the Council of *Gluckstadt*, whom the greatest Criticks of our Age, *Gronovius*, *Morhovius*, and others, do almost adore? For although his great modesty would never suffer any thing of his to be published, yet from this Fountain the greatest Men do daily draw the richest streams, and which they derive again to the world by their Learned works, not without this magnificent complaint, that they are not able with their most  
ardent

ardent and officious Prayers to overcome the Modesty of so great a Man. *Vide Orat. Herm. Kirchneri, de Illustriss. Ducibus, Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Nobilibus, Germanis in Academiis in Doctores & Magistros promotis.*

## LXXV.

Pa. 280. I was told there ( at Spier ) were some ancient MSS. in the Library that belongeth to the Cathedral: but one of the Prebendaries, to whom I addressed myself, being, according to the German Custome, a Man of greater quality than learning, told me he heard they had some ancient MSS. but he knew nothing of it, and the Dean was absent, so I could not see them.

These and many other Curiosities of Germany may be seen in *Mabellonii Analectis Veterum*, lately printed at Paris.

## LXXVI.



LXXVI.

*There is no Prince in Germany that is more absolute than the Electour Palatine.* Pa.287.

This is not true, many other Princes of the sacred *Roman Empire* enjoy the same power, nay, a greater, as that privilege of the Electour of *Saxony*, *de non appellando & evocando*. Seckendorf in *Not. Imperii*. Though others also hold the same is granted to the Electour *Palatine*, as *Jac. Blum. ad Process. Cam. l. 47*. Indeed the Power of some is limited in respect of the orders of their Province, but not in respect of the Emperour. So *Monzambano, de statu Imper. Germ. c. 6. § II.* All, as well Seculars as Ecclesiasticks, these made by Inheritance, those by Election, do hold their Principalities as Monarchies, but with this difference, that in some places the Power of the Prince is absolute, in others limited by certain agreements, with the States, as they call them, or Orders of Provinces and their

their Privileges. And c. 5. § 28. He declares their Privileges, *viz.* They, at least most of them, have power of Life and Death over their Subjects, make Laws even contrary to Common-law, enjoy a freedom of their Religion, take to themselves all the revenues of their Districts, appoint Taxes, enter Leagues among one another and with Foreigners, so that they tend not against the Emperour or Empire. *Vide Instrum. Pacis, Art. 8. § 11. & Capitulat. Leopold. Artic. 6, & 8.* which Right is expressly taken away from the Mediate (as they call them) Subjects of the Empire, *Art. 9. Capit. Leopold.* they defend themselves by Arms and revenge Injuries offered to them by force, especially against Foreigners. They build Fortresses in their Districts, they coin money and what else is necessary to the Government of a City. *Add. Artic. 33, 34. Capit. Leopold. & Instrum. Pac. Artic. 8. § 8.* The peculiar dignity of Electours is acknowledged, *Artic. 5. Capit. Leop.* And all this they doe in their own right, not

not in the Emperour's Place. Nor doth it so much affect their Power, as the manner of their proceeding, that they acknowledge their Districts as Fiefs from the Emperour and Empire. For since now by hereditary right they transmit these things to their posterity, whatever it is, rather of solemn rite than true collation concerning the first acquest thereof, the Investiture is of force, and cannot be denied to any that requires it within the lawfull time. From the Premisses it now appears what Power is left to the Electour *Palatine*, above the other Electours and Princes, as the Doctour dreams.

LXXVII.

*And in their Prayers they name him Pa.282.  
their Sovereign.*

Of the Truth of this we doubt very much: And why did he not name his Authour from whom he heard thus much, since in matters ridiculous and of no moment, as of the Monk and the

the Nun of *Strasburg* he so carefully produced one? Especially when he dare not affirm that he heard it himself, because of his happy ignorance of the *German* Tongue, as he thinks it. For he takes the same pains in his Letters, to make folks believe that he is ignorant of this Language, as he does to set forth his knowledge in the *Italian*, and especially in the *Tuscan* Dialect. He says, pag. 280. *I was in a Sermon where I understood nothing.* Oh Honest Soul! He does not dissemble his Ignorance, no, not even in spiritual Matters, and confesses, that he understood not the Word of God, being wholly taken up in searching out the Curiosities and Politick Devices of the World through all his Travels. And yet he has not quite shook hands with Scripture, as you may see by these words of his, for these: *I was in a Sermon where I understood nothing.* See you not whence they are taken? Surely they are the Epitome of those words of *St. Paul*, 1 Ep. ad *Corinth.* c.2. v.14. *The natural man receiveth not the things*

*things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.*

But to return to our matter, the falsity of his relation may be known from this, that the word Sovereign cannot be express'd in the *German* Tongue, or at least was never yet express'd, perhaps because in *Germany* there is no such power purely absolute and subject onely to God, or limited by no Laws. And whatever word the Subjects should honour their Prince by, he that knows the Language will find that they have no word equivalent to this.

LXXVIII.

*Among their Archives they preserve Pa.286. the original, which is onely a great Parchment, writ in High-dutch, without any beauty answering to its Title.*

Yet presently he adds, *I was not at the pains of desiring to see it.* If therefore he saw not the MS. how can he  
give

give his Judgment of its form or Beauty, which he says is none at all? One might as well believe, that since it is called the Golden Bull, our Authour believed it to be made of Gold. Nor is it comprised in one Parchment as he affirms, nor indeed could it be, being divided into thirty sufficiently large Chapters.

## LXXIX.

Pa.286. *And since I could not have understood it.*

Is he therefore ignorant also of the *Latin* Tongue as well as the *German*; for the Golden-Bull is writ in both. The beginning of the *Latin* is this: *In nomine sanctæ & individuae Trinitatis feliciter, Amen. Carolus IV. divinâ favente clementiâ Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus, & Bohemiæ Rex ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Omne Regnum in se ipso divisum desolabitur, &c.*

## LXXX.



LXXX.

*The Electour of Mentz is an absolute Prince.* Pa. 206.

He would have said the same of all the Princes of the sacred *Roman Empire*, especially of the Electours, if he had touch'd their Territories: so himself had destroy'd the folly of his own words after a manner usual to him, whereby he had affirmed the *Palatine* to be most absolute of all the Princes of *Germany*. Nay here he spoils what he said before; for the reason why he said, the *Palatine* was most absolute was, because he taxed his Subjects at his Pleasure; *There is no Prince in Germany that is more absolute than the Electour Palatine, for he layeth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaseth.* But yet when he calls the Electour of *Mentz* absolute, he gives the same reason. *For (says he) the subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the Palatinate.* How then is the Electour *Palatine* more absolute than *Mentz*?

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LXXXI.

## LXXXI.

Pa.292. *The German Princes keep such forms, that without a great deal of a doe one cannot come within their Courts.*

What a malicious Calumny is this against the *German* Princes again? for let us take for granted what he says of the Electour of *Mentz* his Court, can he therefore from that one Court, and that of an Ecclesiastical Prince too, justly make an estimate of all the rest whom he hath not seen? Surely whoever has seen the Courts of the Electour of *Brandenburg*, and the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg* (I say nothing of those whom I have not seen myself) doth not onely admire the Royal Pomp and Magnificence, even worthy of the greatest Emperours, among such chosen Guards of their Body, shining with Gold and Silver; but also highly approves and extolls the great humanity, affability and bounty of all the Courtiers, every one excelling in his kind, and onely to be excelled

celled by his Lord and Master, even upon the bare account of their own worth, and the Favours they themselves have experienced.

LXXXII.

*For it is judged to have been done a- Pa.294.  
bout four or five hundred years ago.*

He thinks forsooth that these golden pieces, which were taken out of the Earth, during the Siege of *Bon*, were 400 years old. But on what Foundation stands our Authour now? nay, What could he stand on? For if the Age had been marked on the pieces themselves, yet he could conclude nothing thence, since he acknowledges a great Cheat to be in them; and confesses, that he could not conceive the Reasons of him that had them formerly, why he should be minded to impose upon Posterity this way. For these are his words; *They are huge big, one weighed eight hundred Ducats, and the Gold was*

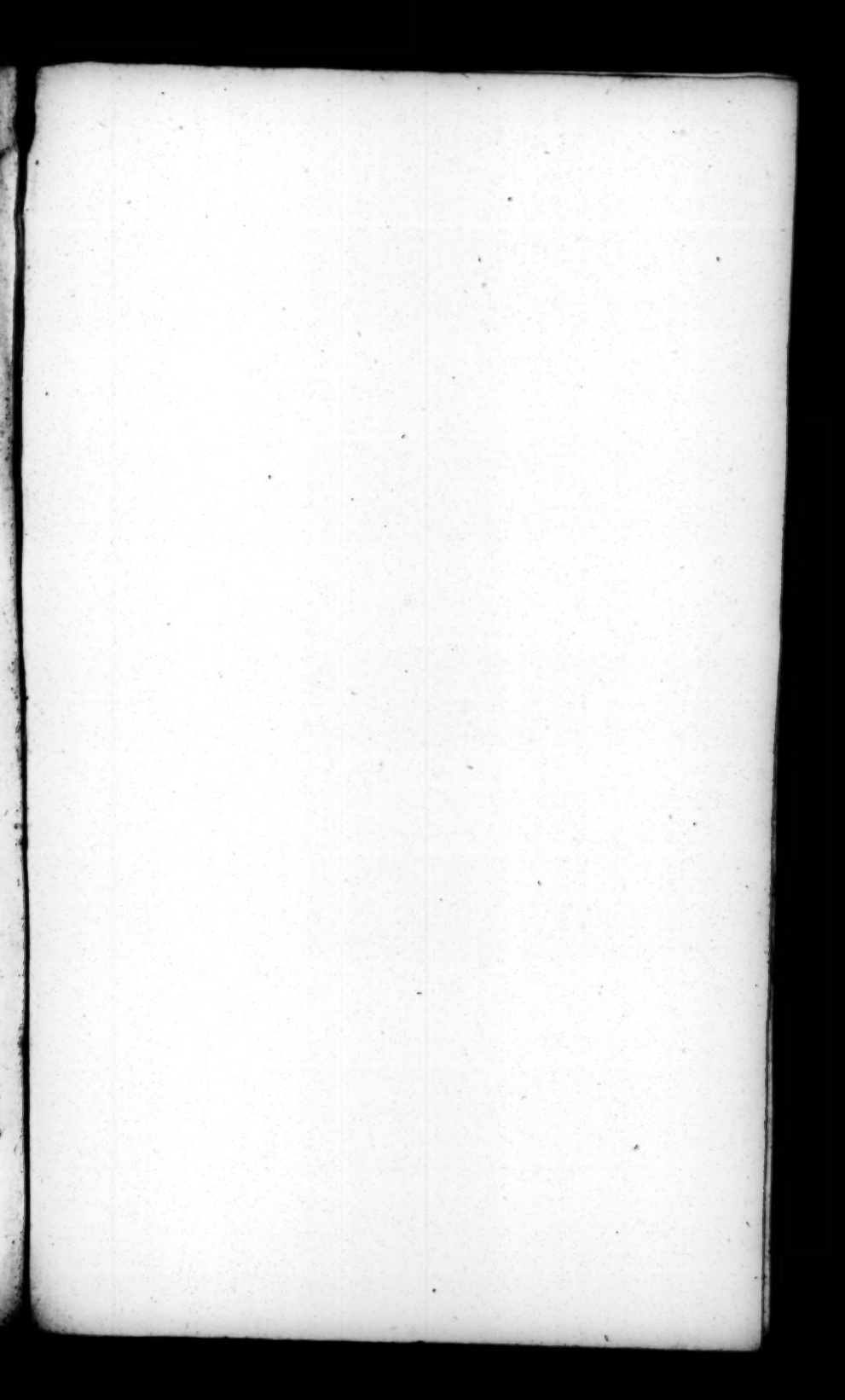
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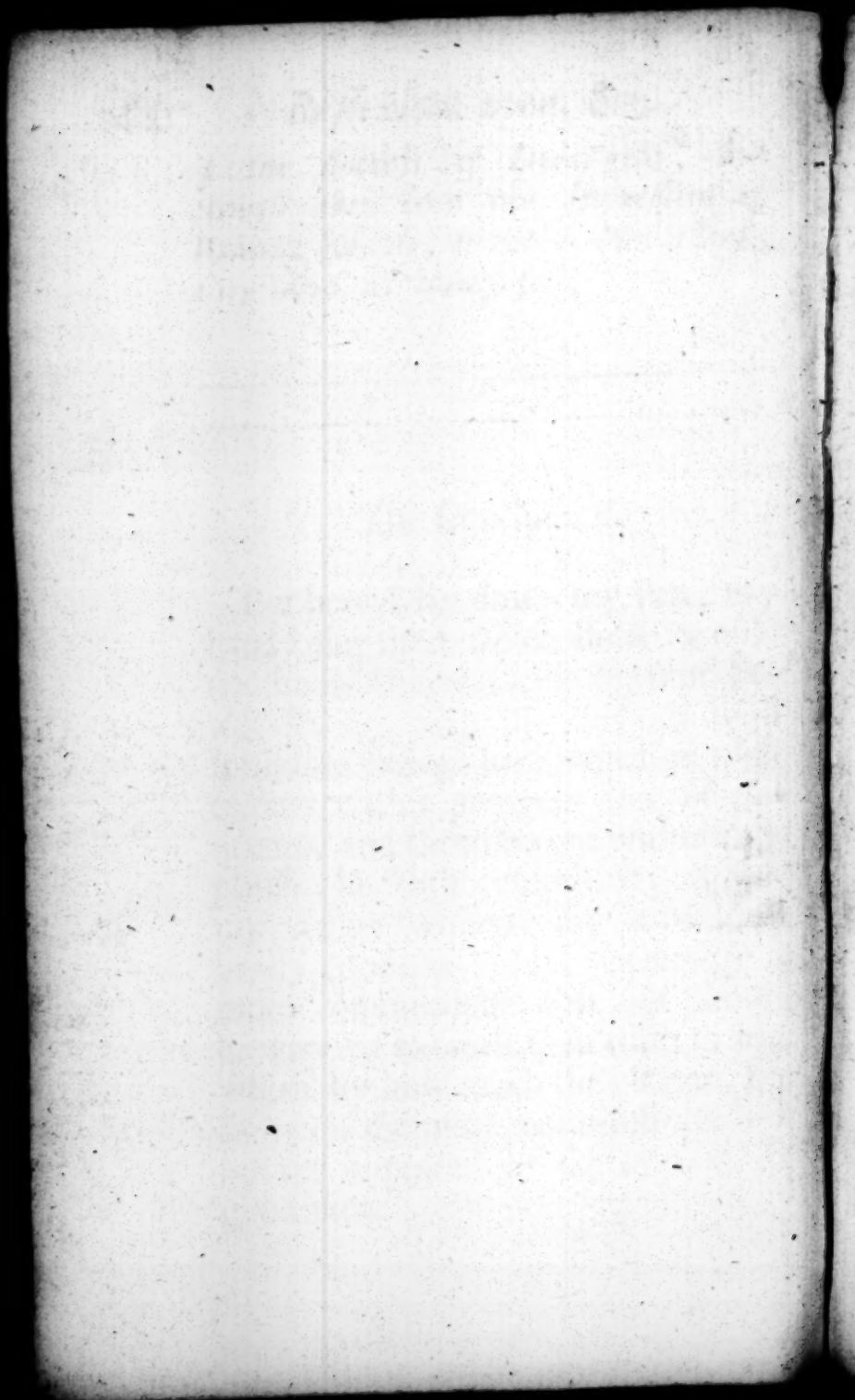
of the fineness of Ducat gold, but  
 though they bore the Impressions of  
 Roman Medals, or rather Medaillons,  
 they were all counterfeit.

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### The Conclusion.

But here I lay down my Pen, my  
 hand being tired, which alone I would  
 not should be wanting to its office. For  
 whatsoever things our Authour with  
 splendour enough hath forged, or what  
 errours with a pompous sort of elo-  
 quence, and therefore not without ap-  
 plause, he hath committed; it was  
 my design without any ornaments  
 barely to relate them; esteeming it  
 more commendable that wit should  
 be wanting to truth, than truth to wit,  
 which by how much the plainer, by  
 so much the more beautifull hath it  
 always appeared to the eyes of all  
 good men.







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